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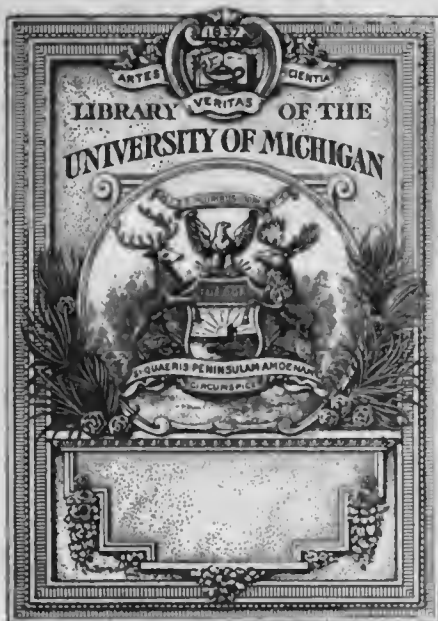
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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—**ST. VINCENT OF LEIRIA, *Commonit, c.***

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LEO XIII AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE.¹

We welcome in this volume of nearly six hundred pages the first complete and habitually dispassionate account of that great event of the year 1900 known as the Peace Conference, called by the Queen of the Netherlands at the suggestion of the Emperor of Russia,² and held (May 18-July 29) in the great ball-room of the historic House in the Wood (Huis ten Bosch), the summer palace of the Dutch royal family, quite close to The Hague.³

It is the documentary history of these memorable days that Dr. Holls relates in eight chapters, that have for titles: The Calling of the Peace Conference; The Opening of the Conference; The Work of the First Committee (limitation

¹ THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE, and its Bearings on International Law and Policy, by Frederick W. Holls, D. C. L., a Member of the Conference from the United States of America. New York: The Macmillan Co.; 8°, pp. xli + 572.

LA PAIX ET LES PEUPLES, *Revue Internationale des Sciences Sociales, d'Histoire et de Droit Public Chrétien*. Paris, 210 Avenue de Versailles; Vol. I. (1900), Nos. 1-5, pp. 240.

MONARCHY AND REPUBLIC IN ITALY, by Ricciotti Garibaldi, *North American Review*, December, 1900; pp. 811-816.

THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPE, by Rev. Humphrey Moynihan, D. D., *Catholic World*, December, 1900.

² This was done through a lithographed communication from Count Mouravieff, the Russian foreign minister, to the diplomatic representatives accredited to the Court of St. Petersburg. This circular note bears the date of August 24 (12th, old style), 1898. It is given in English, Holls, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-10.

³ The six envoys of the United States were: Andrew Dickson White, Esq., Minister to Germany; Seth Low, Esq., President of Columbia University; Stanford Newell, Esq., Minister to the Netherlands; Capt. Alfred T. Mahan, of the United States Navy; Capt. William Crozier, of the United States Army, and Frederick William Holls, D. C. L., of New York.

of armaments, the humanizing of war, expanding bullets, method of general warfare); The Work of the Second Committee (the convention for the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864); The Work of the Third Committee (good offices, mediation, international commissions of inquiry and arbitration); The Immunity of Private Property on the High Seas; The Conference from Day to Day; The Bearings of the Conference upon International Law and Policy. Many valuable documents are given in the body of the work; others are contained in three appendixes (pp. 373-562): thus, the "Final Act" of the International Peace Conference, the conventions with respect to the laws and customs of war on land, and for the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of August 24, 1864, the General Report to the Secretary of State of the American Commission to the Peace Conference, bearing date of July 31, 1899, and an account of the Hugo Grotius celebration at Delft (July 4, 1899), with the speech of Mr. Andrew D. White on that occasion. In the preface to his work, Dr. Holls emphasizes the lack of enthusiastic welcome that should have been vouchsafed to the Conference, a lack especially noticeable among "leaders of thought or action." The good faith of the originators was challenged or derided; sarcasm, cynicism and condemnation fell to its lot. Its very object was almost universally misconceived, even "the press, with a very few notable exceptions, withdrew its representatives from the Hague, and contented itself thereafter with supplying its readers with the fragmentary and often inaccurate snatches of information supplied by irresponsible sources" (p. ix.) It does not surprise him, therefore, that certain events in South Africa and the Far East are deepening the popular misconceptions regarding the Conference. Nevertheless, he gives it as his judgment (*ibid*) that "the Peace Conference accomplished a great and glorious result not only in the humanizing of warfare and the codification of the laws of war, but above all in the promulgation of the Magna Charta of International Law, the binding together of the civilized powers in a federation for justice, and the establishment of a

permanent International Court of Arbitration." As the official records of the Conference, though published, have not yet appeared in English, this volume "written primarily for American and English readers," has an interest second to no work of the year. The author's "aim has been to tell what took place with sufficient fullness for the student of International Law, but without making the book too technical for the general reader" (p. x.) Every student of history and politics will thank Dr. Holls for the timely offer of this well-written and succinct story of the Conference. Himself an acknowledged scholar in International Law, the secretary of the American Commission, and a member of the various committees through which the Conference worked, he is an unimpeachable official witness of its temper, its scope and its doings.

The Catholic student of history will at once ask what position did the Pope hold in this Conference, and what was his attitude? Alas! he knows already that at the end of the nineteenth century the Bishop of Rome was formally excluded from a solemn gathering of great diplomats, professors, scholars and nobles who had met to discuss the furtherance of international peace. And when he reads the able summary (pp. 233-267), in which Dr. Holls presents the argument and counter-argument for a permanent international court of arbitration presented by the superior minds which were grappling with the highest interest of humanity about that famous council-table at The Hague, he will not fail to be struck by a certain sad confession of impotency that arises from it all. Dr. Holls himself struck a high and noble note in his own plea, and we have much pleasure in giving publicity to it.¹

¹"Civilized, educated, progressive public opinion, which is beyond all question the most potent and the one irresistible moral influence in the world to-day—remembering former failures—will not pardon us if we offer it a new, acute rebuff, and the very hopes which are now concentrated upon us and our work will be the measure of the disappointment which would follow our failure. Moreover, the establishment of a permanent international court is the one great success which is hoped for, not only as being brilliant and striking, but also as being attainable,—in fact within our very grasp. Without doubt the honorable delegate from the German Empire is correct when he regards the Russian project as a decided step in advance over the present condition of affairs as regards arbitration, but from the point of view of efficient and critical public opinion all over the world, I venture to say, most emphatically, that we shall have done nothing whatever if we separate without having established a permanent tribunal of arbitration." Discourse of Dr. Holls, June 9, before the Comité d'Examen, in the Palace of the Binnenhof, at The Hague, op. cit., pp. 256-257.

But we cannot help recalling the remarks of Lord Stanley of Alderley, delivered on July 25, 1887, in the House of Lords, when a similar proposition was under discussion. The noble lord asserted that such a court existed already, the court of the Bishop of Rome; that all continental Europe was disposed to recognize it as the proper arbiter when war was threatened between nations. He called attention to the happy settlement of the matter of the Caroline Islands by Leo XIII, whereby war was averted between Germany and Spain. The code of the Law of Nations, he continued, drawn up at Lille by Catholic savants in November, 1886, could easily be accepted by England, which, following the example of Germany, need not hesitate to trust the impartiality of the Pope.

In other words, the estimable members of The Hague Conference deliberately ignored the most powerful of all existing moral forces, the religious authority of the Bishop of Rome, an authority recognized by fully one-half of the 500,000,000 souls which make up our modern Christendom. Though shorn of much of its external grandeur, it is still an unshaken and working *magisterium*, the only one left which whole peoples obey unhesitatingly and in all parts of the world. Its almost countless services in the past suggest it naturally as the nucleus of any system of arbitration that is to win popular acceptance. Even the public opinion to which Dr. Holls appeals is itself largely molded by the decisions of experienced and learned men. Where shall we find in Europe or America an Areopagus more sedate, impartial, disinterested than the Senate of the Bishop of Rome, the famous College of Cardinals? From time immemorial the works of peace have been their chief occupation. The weekly consistory of the Roman bishop was the supreme court of mediæval Europe. This was eloquently stated by Saint Simon early in this century, in his "Lettre aux Savants Européens" (p. 67): "Since the fifteenth century the institution which held together the nations of Europe and checked the ambitions of peoples and kings has grown steadily weaker. To-day it is entirely overthrown. A general war that threatens to consume the whole population of

Europe exists for now twenty years, and has already harvested many millions of men."¹

In 1855 Dr. Heffter, an illustrious German jurisconsult and member of the Supreme Court of Justice at Berlin, could write as follows: "In the Middle Ages the noblest and worthiest temporal duty of the Common Head of the Catholic Church was the exercise of an authority of reconciliation among the powers of Europe, an authority that he might well be clothed with again in the interest of peace."² The popes have never abandoned this holy privilege, won by so many centuries of exercise. Pius IX rightly proclaimed it in his Encyclical of December 8, 1864. Thoughtful Protestants have welcomed the hope of its reintroduction into the politico-social life of Europe. On the eve of the Vatican Council, Dr. David Urquhart wrote a now famous letter to Pius IX imploring him to re-establish on earth the "Law of Nations," that only he could put into general use, by reason of his royal dignity, his antique lineage, his venerable seat of authority, and the very tongue which he habitually uses.³ In 1872 Lord Robert Montagu, in his learned work, "Arbitration Instead of War," proposed the papal tribunal as the proper one for the unhappy quarrels that usually result in war. The Seventh General Peace Congress at Budapest (1896) recognized the untiring efforts of the papacy to preserve peace. Is it not strange to find in common accord on this subject the minister of the world's greatest autocracy and

¹ *Oeuvres Choïsies*, Bruxelles, 1859, II. 167-249. In 1814, this precursor of modern socialism expressed himself as follows on the organization of mediæval society: "Nous affectons un mépris superbe pour les siècles qu'on appelle du moyen-âge; nous n'y voyons qu'un temps de barbarie stupide, d'ignorance grossière, de superstition dégoûtante, et nous ne faisons pas attention que c'est le seul temps où le système politique de l'Europe ait été fondé sur sa véritable base, sur une organisation générale," ap. Thierry, *De la réorganisation de la société Européenne*, Paris, 1814, pp. 24-25.

² *Das Europäische Völkerrecht der Gegenwart*, 8d ed. Berlin, 1873; § 41, p. 86.

³ "Ut jus gentium hominumque jura sacrata et servata sint; ut leges spectatæ et foedera fracta, cordibus hominum inscripta, cura tua pacem et fiduciam in terris reducant. . . . Potentia illa tuis in manibus sita est. Potentia alia non est nec spes. Oro te, Beatissime Pater, ut intelligentiam excelsam et undique permeantem Romanæ Ecclesiæ evoces ad istam scientiam colendam ab antiquis 'de rebus divinis ac humanis' dictam, per quam Roma pagana magna nobilis et veneranda fuit. Miseris qui mala a se ipsis illata nec tolerare nec sanare possunt in auxilium venias per antiquum titulum tuum, per dignitatem regiam, per urbem sedem imperii, per linguam ipsam qua uteris, oro." Cf. *Acta et Decreta Concilii Vaticani* (Coll. Conc. Lacensis, vol. VII), pp. 1309-10. Also *The Month* (May, 1869), "The Peacemaker of the Nations."

a chief of anarchists!¹ Towards the end of 1820, at the Fifth Conference of the International Congress gathered at Troppau, Prince Metternich called the attention of the ministers of France and England to the fact that the Cabinets of Austria, Prussia, and Russia were inclined to accept the Holy Father as mediator for the pacification of Italy and Europe. On December 11 the Russian minister added, in the name of his sovereign: "We can see but one authority capable of interposing itself between the Powers; that is, the authority of the Holy Father. . . . By fulfilling his august mission as mediator, the Pope would exercise worthily his ministry of indulgence and concord, with the generous purpose of forestalling or diminishing for all Europe the disasters of war."² On this occasion both the Emperor of Russia and the Emperor of Austria begged Pius VII to undertake the office.

It is universally acknowledged that peace would prevail among men if there were again in the world love of justice, respect for law, a common sense of order—all things which are based on the great ideas of a common fatherhood of God and a common brotherhood of men. Hence, Dr. Holls rightly praises (p. 367) Radbertus' "fine definition of the art of politics (the royal art of ascertaining and accomplishing the will of God)." Now, there is one power on this earth that for over fifteen hundred years has been concerned, in an unbroken line, with the ascertaining and the formal proclaiming of this divine will.³ The results of its activity are laid down in a most remarkable legislation, the Canon Law, the conscious creation, to a very large extent, of the bishops of Rome. Its principal source is the Scripture, Old and New, and the equally holy *magisterium*

¹ In 1891 the anarchist Charles Malato wrote: "Phénomène bizarre, la papauté, aujourd'hui à l'agonie, tend fatalement à reprendre ses anciennes fonctions d'arbitre, retracant en sens inverse, dans sa décrépitude, les phases de sa naissance." *Révolution Chrétienne et Révolution Sociale*, Paris, 1891, p. 118.

² *Journal des Conférences*, Nos. 5 and 6. Cf. also *La Papauté et les Peuples*, June-July, 1900, p. 187.

³ In replying to the formal invitation of the Emperor of Russia, Cardinal Rampolla took occasion to emphasize the fact that *Christian* justice, the maxims of the Gospel, the fear of God were the only true bases of a lasting peace. "On a voulu," adds the Cardinal, "régler les rapports des nations par un droit nouveau, fondé sur l'intérêt utilitaire, sur la prédominance de la force, sur le succès des faits accomplis, sur d'autres théories qui sont la négation des principes éternels et immuables de la justice: voilà l'erreur capitale qui a conduit l'Europe à un état désastreux." Letter of Cardinal Rampolla to M. Tcharykoff, Russian Minister to the Holy See, in reply to the original circular of Count Mouravieff.

of the Church. Its spirit is eminently pacific, and for many grave reasons inclined to composition and arbitration in all temporal matters. It embodies the best elements of the Roman law without its absolutism and its unbending sternness. It is a marvelously supple and self-adapting legislation that has left its maternal impress not only on all the laws and institutions of political Europe, but on the very manners and speech of the peoples, even as the Roman law is written large all over the Latin language. It is the only legislation of a spiritual authority that has withstood every external and internal adverse influence, has traversed all periods and grades of human culture, and yet maintains itself the world over, in undiminished vigor. In the authority that created it and yet continues and interprets it, there is, therefore, an experience of human nature and human affairs that can be claimed by no other known or imaginable authority. Now, if the establishment of a permanent tribunal of arbitration must be approached, according to Dr. Holls (p. 256), "in a practical spirit, such as is generally attributed to us Americans," would it not be well, in such supreme crises, to call in the one living organism that has dealt from time immemorial with all Western humanity, as its recognized arbiter? Dr. Holls rightly quotes from Abraham Lincoln that "we cannot escape history." Historical traditions are, indeed, all powerful in International Law. It is largely based on those great humanitarian ideas introduced and preached by Christianity, but wrought into the fibre and stuff of our Western peoples and nations by a thousand years of incessant maternal pedagogy on the part of the Roman Church. From Gregory the Great, mitigating the lot of the farmers of Sicily as against the fiscus of Constantinople, to Leo XIII and Brazilian slavery, the general trend of papal action has been supremely just, beneficent, and humanitarian. History is called by Cicero, "*testis temporum, lux veritatis, magistra vitae*." Better than any other institution, the Roman Church possesses the sense and mystery of this universal life-lesson. She stands by and watches the weaving of the warp and woof of life on its greatest scale. And when each phase, great or small, glorious or shameful, rolls out of view or mem-

ory, she is still there, in the words of the old twelfth century poet :

“Orbis apex, gloria, gemma, decus,
Urbs titulis claris tam laetis clara triumphis.”

Men are won not only by reasons, but by symbols and potent watchwords. This is the meaning of a flag, of a war-cry, of a national anthem or air. “Le coeur a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît pas,” says Pascal. The very seat of papal authority is such a symbol of peace and order. Rome is the common *patria* of all Christians ; to Roman Catholics, who are perhaps more than one-half of all Christendom, it is the city holy and lovely beyond belief. Whether it be Montaigne or Louis Veuillot who sing its praises, or some old seventh-century Irish Foillan,

“O Roma nobilis, orbis et domina,
Cunctarum urbium excellentissima,”

it still remains the mistress of souls ; its words of guidance and law are still believed to be the utterances of an apostolic mouth. The thirteenth Leo can still repeat with exact truth those words of the first and greatest Leo that every priest of the Roman Church repeats yearly.² Even the least practical of Roman Catholics still shares the temper of the licentious Boccaccio, and is as ready as the poet to cry out,—

“O fior d’ogni città, donna del mondo !
O degna imperiosa monarchia !”

There is still a magic in the name of Rome. She is still “Rome, the nurse of judgment” (Henry VIII, ii. 2). It is true that the political institutions of the time have lost, or rather the men through whom they energize have lost, the proper vital contact with the religion, the inner life of belief, aspiration,

¹Alexander Neckam, *De laudibus Divinae Sapientiae*. Dist. V, 182-183.

² ‘Isti (SS. Peter and Paul) sunt qui te ad hanc gloriam provexerunt, ut gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia, per sacram beati Petri Sedem caput orbis effecta, latius praesideres religioni divina quam dominatione terrena. Quamvis enim multis aucta victoris jus imperii tui terra marique protuleris: minus tamen est quod tibi bellicus labor subdidit quam quod *pax Christiana* subjecti.’ Sermo I. S. Leonis in Nativ. SS. App. Petri et Pauli.

ideal, the true life of continental Catholicism.¹ But this latter life is very deep; it sucks its strength from a thousand hidden wells; it is permanent, and therefore patient. The former is essentially ephemeral. Moreover, any genuine and durable public opinion must eventually have a basis of religion; otherwise it will be only a series of popular ebullitions, a form of psychology of the mob that to-day shouts for "Liberty" and to-morrow goes drunk over its violent extinction. If public opinion is to compel an International Court of Arbitration, as Dr. Holls generously hopes (p. 256), and if that public opinion is to begin from now to exercise its moral pressure, without any direction or advice from the world's oldest judicial tribunal, we greatly fear that it will be a long time before it compels an "endless peace" or puts an end to Jameson raids. There is a great deal of human nature in every man, much more in every nation and people. Self-interest is to-day, as always, the practical law of organized society, the brutal old charter of Cæsarism, that reads how,—

"He shall take who hath the power,
And he shall keep who can."

Our modern society is no less leonine than those of the past. It is only the appeal to a divine sanction, a divine will, a Judge of peoples as of persons, of kings and powers as of parents, that can compel the practical benefits of peace. To formally exclude from the Conference at The Hague the venerable Vicar of the divine Prince of Peace, the latest of those great legislators, who like Innocent III, Gregory IX, Sixtus V, and Benedict XIV, endowed the world with principles and models of peaceful administration, the inheritor of all the

¹ The noble reply of Montalembert in defense of the independence of the Holy Father against a discourse of Victor Hugo deserves a place here: "Quand un homme est condamné à lutter contre une femme, si cette femme n'est pas la dernière des créatures, elle peut le braver impunément. Elle lui dit: Frappez! mais vous vous déshonorerez et vous ne me vaincrez pas. Eh bien, l'église n'est pas une femme. Elle est bien plus qu'une femme: c'est une mère!"

"C'est une Mère! C'est la Mère de l'Europe, la Mère de la société, la Mère de l'humanité moderne. On a beau être un fils dénaturé, un fils révolté, un fils ingrat, on reste toujours fils, et il vient un moment, dans toute lutte contre l'Eglise, où cette lutte parricide devient insupportable au genre humain, et où celui qui l'a engagée, tombe accablé, anéanti, soit par la réprobation unanime de l'humanité!"—"Le Comte de Montalembert," par Mme. Augustus Craven. 2d ed., Paris, 1882, pp. 124-25.

religious prestige and historical veneration of many long centuries, the representative of that holy force which gradually de-barbarized the ancestors of modern Europe and taught them to handle the pen and the plow instead of the sword and the lance, was a crowning act of folly. We do not wonder that the young Queen Wilhelmina, or the wise heads who lend her their counsel and service, insisted on repairing the wrong done the cause of peace as far as lay in their power. We subjoin the text of the letter of Queen Wilhelmina to Leo XIII, asking for his moral support, and the answer of His Holiness. Dr. Holls in his brief reference to the incident, seems to show an animus against the cause of the Holy Father. He calls a "remarkable proceeding" (p. 333) the insistence of the Dutch Government that this correspondence should be spread on the minutes of the Conference, and asserts that it was only out of courtesy to their hosts that such action was taken. It would be more remarkable if any International Peace Conference could meet without thinking of that ruler who has done more to preserve peace in the world than all its scholars, diplomats and philosophers. There is, indeed, one remarkable thing about the whole matter, viz., that the autocratic ruler of nearly one hundred million of schismatic Greeks, and the modern-liberal and Protestant Dutch authorities should insist on the honor and right of the Pope, while the doctrinaire and sectarian agencies would have none of them. As we write, word comes across the ocean that Switzerland is arming as never before.¹ What do these pioneers of free institutions see from their Alpine heights? Are such acts the first results of that "thoroughly secular and eminently practical work" accomplished by the Conference, which was "emphasized" by the mere mention on its minutes of the prisoner of the Vatican (op. cit. p. 335)? We do not wonder that Dr. Holls attests in his opening page the prevalence of a sentiment of disappointment throughout the world. This negative judgment of rejection against the great assembly is no slight thing: "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*"

¹ "The Swiss National Defence." *New York Sun*, December 23, 1900. For the justified fears of the smaller nations of Europe, see "Nationality," London, Vol. I, No. 1, (October, 1900), p. 9.

To use an humble metaphor, men do not make bricks without straw. And so the world felt by a great and common instinct that, since the holiest and least selfish, the wisest and most respected, the least earthly and the most moral of all general influences had been left out, the whole scene was "empty, stale, flat and unprofitable," quite what Dr. Holls feared when he warned the Conference (p. 256) against an issue that would be "purely platonic, inadequate, unsatisfactory, perhaps even farcical."

Far be it from us to cast a stone at a very noble and timely enterprise. Like the Conference gathered some years ago at Berlin under the aegis of the German Emperor, it is a sign that humanity though sick, is not sick unto death. Roman Catholics,—and after the storms of nearly four centuries we are yet one-half of Christendom, a compact, orderly and obedient half,—believe that the proper physician has not been called in. Meanwhile, we look on with sympathy and goodwill at the efforts of the philosophers and philanthropists to extricate European humanity from the *impasse* of militarism and industrialism.¹ Either of them is bad enough, but their combination must eventually, like the fabled vampires, let the blood of whole peoples and races.

All our public woes, like the woes of the Graeco-Roman state, have but one remedy, the injection into our society of the spirit of Jesus Christ. That is found in the Gospel, also in the Catholic Church, whose Head is the historical interpreter of that law of men and nations, which is the will of Jesus Christ. It is no Stoic "Jns Gentium" that Catholic and Protestant writers in this century call on the Roman Pontiff to restore. It is that paternal and eminently just

¹The ingenious apology of Dr. Holls for Prince Bismarck (p. 4) as "a sincere friend of peace," will scarcely meet the approval of the republicans of France, (Cf. Emile Zola on "War," in the *North Am. Review*, l. c., p. 451) or of the average promoters of Peace Congresses. When he assumes (p. 5) that "Questions of national independence or unification such as . . . confronted Italy forty years ago demanded the stern arbitrament of war, by which alone the right to independence or national unity can be vindicated," we cannot help recalling the frank confession of Ricciotti Garibaldi (op. cit., Dec., 1900, p. 815,) "History has revealed that the Piedmontese school of diplomats, with Cavour at their head, looked upon the struggle for the liberation and unity of Italy rather as a means of aggrandizing the Piedmontese monarchy than as the realization of a high ideal, the reconstruction of a great nationality, of which in fact they were rather afraid."

balance of political and social rights and duties that are based on the Gospel, indeed, but have been administered on by the Bishop of Rome for so many centuries, that he, better than any other judicial power, is capable of adapting them to the new times and new conditions. Thoughtful writers tell us, one day, that a strong faith is necessary for wars of the future; again, that idealism is needed for our philosophy, or that without altruism we cannot carry on the scheme of human existence. We look on all these admissions as "*testimonia animae naturaliter Christianae*." Similarly, we believe that Christian society must come back to certain first principles, if it would avoid the shipwreck into which the civilizations of Greece, Rome, India, and now China, have drifted. One of these principles is the establishment, or rather re-establishment of a visible and authoritative power of reconciliation among nations. Perhaps this is the first step toward the desirable reunion of all Christian bodies. Perhaps in the centuries to come the memory of the benefits of such an august court will cause all former woes to be forgotten in the enjoyment, after long wars and wanderings, of a united, solid and irresistible public opinion, such as once existed, but under the present conditions can never be more than a hope, a velleity.

In the Belgian Parliament a deputy, M. Alfred Janssens, protested nobly (March 1, 1900) against the exclusion of the Pope from the Conference of The Hague. He called attention to the fact that the Catholics of Belgium had done their best to prevent such a step, but in vain. Almost as an omen, he said, no more cruel and unjust war was ever begun than that which raged in South Africa during the Conference itself. At the Interparliamentary Conference for Arbitration and Peace, held in August, 1900, at Christiania, Dr. Hauptmann, deputy to the Prussian Landtag, raised his voice in protest against this act as fatal to the best interests of peace :

"GENTLEMEN: The Pope is a sovereign. He can, therefore, treat as an equal with all parties concerned. It makes no difference that his territory is so small (the Vatican) that he takes a place among the secondary powers. His moral authority lends him such a prestige that he is naturally indicated for the eminent office of arbiter between civilized nations.

The same moral force binds him to the observance of the most scrupulous impartiality, especially when it is a question of nations that do not recognize his spiritual authority. . . . The world is painfully surprised at his exclusion from the Conference. As far as I know, no reason has been made known from an official source. Nevertheless, it is generally stated, and without any contradiction, that this is owing to the action of the Italian government. If this be true, let it be known that such conduct is incomprehensible and unjustified, since by the Law of Guarantees (1870) the Pope is recognized by the Italian government as a sovereign and his sovereignty guaranteed. . . . I trust that in the future the Pope will be accorded in any tribunal of arbitration the place which belongs to him as a recognized sovereign."

For many years there has been no more consistent friend of arbitration than Mr. William R. Stead. In a letter to Cardinal Rampolla he is quoted as saying that the absence at The Hague of a representative of the Holy See was a great disappointment.¹ His Eminence might, nevertheless, find some consolation in the fact that this exclusion acted, in the mind of at least one Protestant, as a solid argument in favor of conferring on the Pope some territorial sovereignty which would give him an undoubted right to appear in an International Conference. Thus we arrive at this inevitable conclusion, by every series of facts, through which the public relations of the Holy See with the House of Savoy are expressed,—the translation of the remains of Pius IX, the feasts of the Giordano Bruno celebration, the public visits of sovereigns to Rome, the impossible contention that the Head of the Catholic Church "*in Italy exists only by permission of the Italian Parliament*,"² and now, by this formal denegation to the Pope of his oldest and most glorious title of Reconciler of Christian Peoples and Princes. It was, therefore, with a sad justice that the Holy Father could say in his Allocution of December 14, 1899, that only one power protested against his presence at the Peace Conference, although its originators desired the aid of his authority and public opinion was favorable to its representation. The protesting voice came from those who by their violent conquest of Rome had brought the Supreme Head of the Church within their irresponsible power. "What have We not to fear from such men, when they do not hesitate to violate

¹ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 1, 1899, p. 600, note 1.

² Ricciotti Garibaldi, *North American Review*, December, 1900, p. 814.

before all Europe the sanctity of those rights and duties which pertain naturally to the Apostolic Office !”

The Holy Father had a positive juridical right to be represented at The Hague. He is not yet a mediatised sovereign. He has never accepted the Law of Guarantees. “*Quis custodiet custodes?*” He has never ceased to protest, from the venerable burg that is still left to him, that he suffers violence and is not free. Within those limits he still exercises every attribute of sovereignty, receives ambassadors, and sends out his own with equal authority and dignity. In Catholic countries they are still recognized as the deans of the diplomatic corps, and why not? The very art and spirit of tactful diplomacy, which Dr. Holls calls (p. 367) “the flower of all human culture,” was learned by the world from the legates and nuncios of the Pope.¹ He makes conventions and treaties known as concordats, and even modern jurisprudence recognizes them as synallagmatic and of an international character.² If the diplomacy of the Middle Ages was not patterned after the famous Byzantine embassy to Attila, it was because men learned to see in the papal legate the apostolic figure of Saint Peter. In his great basilica at Rome the traveller or pilgrim may yet see the magnificent bas-relief of Algardi, in which the first Leo is sculptured in the act of opening the history of all Christian diplomacy by his personal appeal to Attila, the Chief of Barbarism, an appeal that was heard and heeded by the latter through respect for the religious character of the Chief of Christendom.³

The Vatican is yet a miniature State. The pope is still a legislator, still executes his laws and attaches to their violation recognized sanctions. He has re-organized his tribunals

¹ Cf. Perrin, *L'Ordre International*, Paris, 1888, p. 172, and in general the writers on the History of International Law.

² Pradier-Fodéré, *Traité de Droit International*, Paris, 1895, II., §1028.

³ A. D. 453. For the facts cf. the contemporary Prosper, also the Chronicle of Idatius, and the Gothic historian Jordanes, Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* VI, 172; *Mém. p. servir à l'H. E.* XV, 750. Early in the following century, the Eastern Bishops, writing (circa 510) to Pope Symmachus, commemorate the universal fame of this great diplomatic deed that the Western peoples never forgot: “If your predecessor, the Archbishop Leo, now among the saints, thought it not unworthy of him to go himself to meet the barbarian Attila, that he might free from captivity of the body, *not Christians only, but Jews and Pagans*, surely your Holiness will be touched by the captivity of soul under which we are suffering.” Migne, *PL.*, LXII. col. 63.

within its limits, and in its halls emperors and kings still find it for their interest to visit him and confer with him. These are not the days when one could hope to see the splendid mediæval ceremonial that was unrolled from the steps of old Saint Peter's to the High Altar that arose above the bones of the Apostle and Martyr of Jesus Christ. It had its formative effect upon the plastic minds and hearts of the mediæval peoples. But the essence of that institution still lives,—the need of an authoritative Conciliator within nations and between them. The violent occupation of Rome, the ridiculous plebiscite that followed it, have not affected the nature of the office, the range of the duties, the sanctity of the privileges of the Apostolic See. These things do not fall beneath the action of any prescription however old. The outside world may know that neither Leo XIII nor any of his successors will dream of giving them up by any formal and voluntary act, in order to sink to the comfortable ease of a court-chaplain of the king and queen of Italy, an object at once of suspicion and mistrust to French, German, English, Irish, American and other Catholics. Cannot the pope look out upon the field of history and see what has become, under such a gilded protectorate, of the liberties of the old, venerable and meritorious sees of Constantinople, Moscow, Canterbury, once the mouthpieces of a rugged apostolic liberty, now mere memories or sign-posts for the historians of the Church.¹ It is an error to think that the tenacity of Leo XIII is only an old man's stubbornness. The Peace Conference at The Hague is proof that there is an *impasse* between the Holy See and the present government of the House of Savoy.

Not only is it unable to assure the personal liberty of the Holy Father at Rome, but it goes out of its way to prevent his execution abroad of the most ancient, general, and beneficent of his prerogatives. Through fear of this aged man in the Vatican it keeps up at home and abroad a ruinous militarism. The rights, needs, duties, hopes, ideals of Interna-

¹The curious reader may see how the liberties of the Russian Church disappeared, in Dean Stanley's fascinating story of the great Nikon, Patriarch of Moscow (d. 1681). Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church, London, 1889, pp. 323-365. The story of Pius VII is an illustration yet too fresh to be forgotten by any bishop of Rome.

tional Catholicism¹ it keeps in abeyance, since the Pope, our head, cannot treat with us on a basis of perfect freedom visible to all and beyond suspicion.

The genuine independence of the Holy See, the "Roman Question," is, therefore, always actual, always open, "nunquam transit in rem judicatam." The immoral doctrine of a right inherent in "accomplished facts," by which it is sought to exclude this situation from the catalogue of great wrongs to be redressed, is producing its natural results. The little nationalities of the world, with all they stand for, are being ruthlessly crushed out, or are threatened with extinction. On the Bismarckian doctrine of "blood and iron," the once-detested imperialism and militarism of the past are raising their heads and compelling acceptance. Even among us there is a vigorous apostolate of their breeding principles. In the words of Dr. Kuyper, the head of the Dutch Calvinist party, they are "threatening the civil liberties and autonomous rights of the people." The cynicism of their moral code is undoubted.²

¹ There is an interesting illustration of this in a manuscript epitome of the "Opus Majus" of Roger Bacon, printed for the first time by Dom Gasquet in the *English Historical Review*, July, 1897, pp. 494, sqq. The English philosopher, writing in 1287, calls the attention of the Pope (Clement IV) to the wretched condition of the natural sciences and the science of languages. He pleads for a general reform of teaching, but insists that without the aid of the Pope no serious betterment can be hoped for. With his help the desired reformation may be accomplished. "Nam artium et scientiarum magnalia tante difficultati sunt subjecta et maxime his temporibus contra diem antichristi et suorum pro quibus furore repletus est ut studium sapientie multipliciter confundat, sicut aperte patebit ex sequentibus, quod sine Apostolica providentia speciali nunquam remedium apponetur. Sed ubi tanta praeest auctoritas nulla potest esse difficultas, quoniam," etc, cf. *ibid.*, p. 502. Potest igitur auctoritate vestra compleri sapientia absolute pro studio, etc. This "tract" is found in the Vatican Archives (Ms. 4086).

² Alfred Russell Wallace, the co-founder of the system that goes by the name of Darwin, is surely an authoritative witness. From his recent book we extract this judgment: "All these nations armed to the teeth, and watching stealthily for some occasion to use their vast armaments for their own aggrandizement and for the injury of their neighbors, are Christian nations, their governments, one and all, loudly proclaim their Christianity by word and deed,—but the deeds are usually some form of disability or persecution of those among their subjects who are not orthodox. Of really Christian deeds there are none, no real charity, no forgiveness of injuries, no help to oppressed nationalities, no effort to secure peace and good will among men." (The Wonderful Century, New York, 1899, p. 337.) The whole (nineteenth) chapter, "The Curse of Civilization," is well worth reading for the honest indignation of it. "It will be held by the historian of the future," he says, "that we of the nineteenth century were morally and socially unfit to possess and use the enormous powers for good or evil which the rapid advance of scientific discovery has given us; that our boasted civilization was in many respects a mere surface veneer; and that our methods of government were not in accordance with either Christianity or civilization. This view is enforced by the consideration that all the European wars of the century have been due to dynastic squabbles, or to obtain national aggrandizement, and were never waged in order to free the slave, or protect the oppressed without

Simultaneously, from all sides comes a lamentation over the enthronization among men of the most odious of powers, the power of wealth, and of wealth gotten by the violation of the gravest laws of economico-social welfare.¹ There is, after all, no reason for wondering at the appeal of Queen Wilhelmina to the Papacy, for the prestige of its moral authority. There is the closest relationship of cause and effect between the events of September, 1870, and the moribund liberties of the South African republics. Injustice is the fruitful mother of injustice; an absolute law of history wills that for states and civilizations there should be only the penance of experience. Frederic Harrison cannot resist the conclusion that Holland itself is doomed to wear, and within a decade, the yoke of a German protectorate;² that the latter power will yet realize the threat of Napoleon, and "hold Antwerp like a pistol at the mouth of the Thames," while France, for similar reasons, will re-assert her paramountcy over Belgium. Switzerland begins to show a paling cheek, and to gird her loins for another Sempach. Over all these yet amorphous situations there rises the spectre of the Social State, that many political economists believe will find its first avatar on that classic soil of governmental experiments—Italy. The nineteenth century closes in an ominous and throbbing silence. The king-pin of veneration for the apostolic mediation of Saint Peter has been pulled out of our political framework that is historically the evolution of and is based on the doctrine

any ulterior selfish ends," pp. 341-342. Is the actual treatment of China by organized Europe dictated by the principles or code of Christianity?

"It remains to be said, however, that all our progress in the way of luxury and knowledge and purely personal refinement has not been attended by a corresponding elevation and purification of our morals, our humanity and our altruism. In all these respects we have not been lifted by so much as the fraction of an inch above the level of the darkest ages of the world."—*Washington Post*, Jan. 1, 1901.

¹From the well-known work of a brilliant student of economics, Professor Brooks Adams' "Law of Civilization and Decay." I quote a trustworthy judgment: "As energy from age to age changes its vent, different types of intellect appear, and therefore it should be possible, by comparing a living with a dead society, to estimate in some degree the course which has been run. . . . Although the conventions of popular government are preserved, capital is at least as absolute as under the Cæsars, and among capitalists the money-lenders form an aristocracy. . . . Art seems to presage approaching disintegration. The architecture, the sculpture and the coinage of London at the close of the nineteenth century, when compared with those of the Paris of Saint Louis, recall the Rome of Caracalla as compared with the Athens of Pericles."

²*Daily Chronicle* (London), April 28, 1900.

of a Christendom, but that has repudiated the spirit, the temper and the good old working institutions of the same. The chief of these was precisely the paternal moral religious authority of one Counsellor and Reconciler, who was to all Christian peoples what the High Justiciar of Spain once was to the whole commonwealth, what all mediæval peoples saw in their episcopate, what King Henry V recognized in the See of Canterbury, an authority to "justly and religiously unfold all causes and arguments of war."

"Speak, my lord,
And we will hear, note, and believe in heart
That what you speak is in your conscience wash'd
As pure as sin with baptism."—(Henry IV., Act I, Scene 2.)

We do not know how the Vatican will finally enter into the possession of that genuine independence which shall render its enormous moral authority once more accessible for the peace of the world and the softening of the undeniable painful burdens that a doctrinaire sectarianism has hung about the neck of humanity. Leo XIII has never formulated publicly the exact extent of the restitution which he would accept. It is not secular aggrandizement that the Apostolic See desires when it insists on the restoration of its former civil authority. The papacy is a venerable and moral power that can afford to wait. All that is essential is its protest against an injustice that time is showing to have been a crime against the best interests of humanity, the destruction of its Supreme Moral Tribunal, built up by so many centuries of interpopular services, the finest flower of Christian political virtues. Already there are numerous signs of a reaction among the peoples of Europe that may end in the re-establishment of their old historical and yet alone available High Court of Arbitration. Will this come only after Europe has once more been made a Napoleonic shambles, as Emile Zola seems to foreshadow?¹

¹ If present difficulties have reached such a pitch that we could not lay down our arms without first fighting it out; if in the near future we were to suffer from a sort of general conflagration, I think that war would be forever at an end; because, after the great massacre the nations would be unfit to resume the struggle, and, exhausted, filled with pity, they would be convinced that henceforth peace should reign among them.—"War," in the *North American Review*, April, 1900, p. 453. With the book of history before us, it is sad to reflect that without the influence of religion even the supreme exhaustion of peoples will only be a temporary obstacle to war. There

The dead century has bequeathed to mankind one terrible but perfect weapon—an iron consequentiality. This must work its grim way in the moral and social order, as in all others. So we confidently believe that in the order of justice this spirit will at last recognize the untenable position of the Head of Catholicism, of him who governs the still tender consciences of those united and compact masses who make one-half of Christendom. His wrongs can never fail to elicit sympathy, and on occasion, the vigorous action, of his spiritual children. The individual pope may pass away, but his successor will inevitably maintain the same solemn protest, conscious as no other power can ever be that—

“They never fail who die
In a great cause: the block may soak their gore:
Their heads may sodden in the sun: their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls—
But still their spirit walks abroad. Though years
Elapse, and others share as dark a doom,
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts
Which overpower all others and conduct
The world to freedom.”

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The following is the account of the correspondence between the Queen of the Netherlands and the Pope as given by Dr. Holls (op. cit. pp. 337-340: “The President of the Conference announced (at the last session, July 29) that he had been asked by the Government of the Netherlands to read to the Conference a letter addressed by Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands, to His Holiness, the Pope, informing him of the meeting of the Peace Conference at The Hague, as well as the response of His Holiness to this communication, as follows:—

LETTER OF QUEEN WILHELMINA TO POPE LEO XIII.

“MOST AUGUST PONTIFF: Your Holiness, whose eloquent voice has always been raised with such authority in favor of peace, having quite recently, in your allocution of the 11th of April last, expressed those generous sentiments,—more especially in regard to the relations among peoples,—I considered it my duty to inform you that, at the request and upon the initiative of His Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, I have called together, for the eighteenth of this month, a Conference at The Hague, which shall be charged with seeking the proper means of diminishing the present crushing military charges and to prevent war, if possible, or at least, to mitigate its effects.

is a mysterious curse of Cain upon unchristian and dechristianized nations that precipitates them forever upon one another with the fiercely recurrent fury of a Conte Ugolino.

La bocca sollevò dal fiero pasto
Quel peccator, forbendola al capelli
Del capo ch'egli avea d'ietro guasto.—Inf. XXIII, 1-3.

"I am sure that your Holiness will look with sympathy upon the meeting of this Conference, and I shall be very happy if, in expressing to me the assurance of that distinguished sympathy, you would kindly give your valuable moral support to the great work which shall be wrought out at my Capital, according to the noble plans of the magnanimous Emperor of all the Russias.

"I seize with alacrity upon the present occasion, Most August Pontiff, to renew to your Holiness the assurance of my high esteem and of my personal devotion.

(Signed)

"WILHELMINA.

"Hausbaden, 7th of May, 1899."

REPLY OF POPE LEO XIII TO QUEEN WILHELMINA.

"YOUR MAJESTY: We cannot but find agreeable the letter by which Your Majesty, in announcing to us the meeting of the Conference for Peace in your Capital, did us the courtesy to request our moral support for that assembly. We hasten to express our keen sympathy for the august initiator of the Conference, and for your Majesty, who extended to it such spontaneous and noble hospitality, and for the eminently moral and beneficent object toward which the labors already begun are tending.

"We consider that it comes especially within our province not only to lend our moral support to such enterprises, but to coöperate actively in them, for the object in question is supremely noble in its nature and intimately bound up with our August Ministry, which, through the divine founder of the Church, and in virtue of traditions of many secular instances, has been invested with the highest possible mission, that of being a mediator of peace. In fact, the authority of the Supreme Pontiff goes beyond the boundary of nations; it embraces all peoples, to the end of federating them in the true peace of the gospel. His action to promote the general good of humanity rises above the special interests which the chiefs of the various States have in view, and, better than anyone else, his authority knows how to incline toward concord peoples of divers nature and character. History itself bears witness to all that has been done, by the influence of our predecessors, to soften the inexorable laws of war, to arrest bloody conflicts when controversies have arisen between princes, to terminate peacefully even the most acute differences between nations, to vindicate courageously the rights of the weak against the pretensions of the strong. Even unto us, notwithstanding the abnormal condition to which we are at present reduced, it has been given to put an end to grave differences between great nations such as Germany and Spain, and this very day we hope to be able soon to establish concord between two nations of South America which have submitted their controversy to our arbitration.

"In spite of obstacles which may arise, we shall continue, since it rests with us to fulfil that traditional mission, without seeking any other object than the public weal, without envying any glory but that of serving the sacred cause of Christian civilization.

"We beg Your Majesty to accept the expression of our great esteem and our best wishes for your prosperity and that of your kingdom.

"From the Vatican, the 29th of May, 1899.

(Signed)

"LEO P. P. XIII."

SOME PEDAGOGICAL USES OF SHAKSPERE.

The use of the works of Shakspeare in schools and colleges is general. No school of importance in the United States omits the study of the Plays from the curriculum, and the entrance examinations for admittance to the colleges always include questions concerning the sources, history, and development of these masterpieces. An examination of the courses in nineteen representative colleges or universities,—these names seem in most cases to be valued as interchangeable,—shows that Shakspeare is analyzed as carefully and interpreted as reverently as Dante is analyzed and taught in the schools of Italy. In England neither Oxford nor Cambridge neglects him, and in France a great change has taken place since Voltaire sneered at him; for very recently M. Jules Clarétie dared to put the names of Molière and Shakspeare together and to bind them with a phrase from the elder Dumas,—“that Shakspeare was the greatest of creators, except God.”

The plays of this masterly interpreter long ago found their way into the grammar schools, and gradually they are getting into the primary schools. Teachers of experience, who are either the best or the worst specialists in the child mind, are divided as to the time when Shakspeare shall be introduced into the lower schools. But those whose experience has not hardened them are in favor of introducing good literature as soon as possible, and they fortify themselves with some reasons; and one of the best of these reasons is that fine taste in literature cannot be too early formed. Another reason, almost as good, is that the imagination,—that faculty of the soul most neglected in education,—should be directed and cultivated. We are cultivating the power of observation, more or less intelligently, by means of the “object lesson.” We, however, are by no means in advance of that utilitarian school which Mrs. Edgeworth, Madame de Genlis, and Mrs. Barbauld represented over a hundred years ago. Not that we should esteem it an honor to be “advanced,” but to have attained the best,

whether the best have been reached before or not. Those who can recall Mrs. Barbauld's "Evenings at Home," in which the justly esteemed conversation called "Eyes and No Eyes" occurs, and Mrs. Marcet's "Tales of Political Economy" are quite willing to accept the practical conclusions that come from Höfding's assertion, that "everywhere where there is development, later events are conditioned by earlier;"¹ or with Professor Halleck's, that "if brain cells are allowed to pass the plastic stage without being subjected to the proper stimuli or training, they will never fully develop." Everybody, whether a student of the "child mind" or not, will go further with Mr. Halleck, and agree that "the majority of adults have many undeveloped spots in their brains." There is a tendency on the part of the educated theorist to attribute nearly all the undeveloped spots to the lack of practice of the faculty of observation. Many of these undeveloped spots are doubtless due to the lack of practice because of the lack of opportunity for practice. Shakspeare's marigold and Wordsworth's primrose are of no mental stimulating value to a man who has never seen either the English flowers or those which we approximate to them in our country. On the other hand, the Philistine by the river's brim who sees only the primrose as a golden-yellow flower, with kidney-shaped leaves and a calyx of five to nine petal-like sepals, growing in the marsh or by the river, does not think with a glow of Shakspeare's "Mary-buds":

"Hark, hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings,
And Phœbus 'gins arise,
His steeds to water at those springs
On chalic'd flowers that lies;
And winking Mary-buds begin
To ope their golden eyes;
With everything that pretty is."

The difference, after all, between the average man, capable of enjoying only what he sees,—Matthew Arnold's "homme moyen sensuel,"—and the man who enjoys intensely what he does not see with his physical eyes, is not in the lack of training of the power of observation, but in the training of the power of

¹"The Education of the Central Nervous System," by Reuben Post Halleck. The Macmillan Company.

imagination. Observation alone cannot make a poet,—though later, Shakspeare and Tennyson owed much to the faculty of seeing keenly,—nor can it make the man of science, who becomes great in proportion to his unconscious skill in the management of what we call imagination.

The purpose of this paper is not to make a plea for the cultivation of this faculty by teachers; for, in the breaking up of various pedagogical systems, experimental and empirical, the experienced teacher has learned the need of it, though, even in religious schools, where the symbols of Christianity are constant *stimuli* to the imagination, teachers are not always sufficiently alert to apply the psychological processes of the Church to the development,—the free development, of the soul. The purpose of this paper is to consider the means of carrying the study of the best and most subtle works of Shakspeare through all the courses of school and college and university, in the American sense of the terms, and to give reasons why this should be done.

It is the business of education to develop all the faculties of the soul, "the soul being, in some sense, everything." The limitations of this business are due, as a rule, to the gradual atrophy of the perception of the teacher, who fancies that he has reached conclusions where he has only attained to a condition of growth arrested, who seizes theories, the seeming novelty of which offers an evident support to his paralyzed hands. The development of the imagination applied to spiritual things is common in religious schools, for the symbols that show the relations of the natural and supernatural are everywhere. The sense of sight receives the impression of the suffering figure on the cross, common sense centralizes it, and the imagination, trained religiously, conserves, colors, treasures, systematizes the impression. Thus the spiritual sense is cultivated day by day, hour by hour, and all the faculties of the soul directed towards a fuller richness of Faith. There is no play of fancy about these object lessons, they appeal to no intermediate quality between the imagination and the judgment—they satisfy both.

It is often a matter of wonder that many persons who have what we call "the spiritual sense" highly cultivated have

little perception of the beauties of music, art, literature or architecture, except when these arts are directly applied to the service of religion. Conversely, we have even a greater number whose perception of beauty in nature or art is blunted the moment nature and art are taken into the service of religion; they have neither the gift of faith, nor has the spiritual sense been cultivated,—that one may exist without the other, experience abundantly shows.

Let it be admitted that one of the duties of the teacher is to cultivate and direct the imagination, and it ought to follow that he cannot begin too soon. It follows, too, that he ought to put within the reach of the pupil such literature as will lay the foundation of taste and culture at the earliest possible moment. It would be folly to attempt to teach philosophy to the very young, because the study of philosophy demands qualities that are lacking in the minds of the very young,—but the cultivation of taste and the enriching of the imagination have nothing to do with exact definitions and analyses and carefully distinguished processes. What literature is best for the young whose taste and power of conserving beautiful impression are to be educated? The sort of food offered to the children in the shape of little stories and articles that are literary prolongations of the odious patois called “baby talk,” which must make the most intelligent infant hate his species at the very moment he enters life? The attempts in letters of the atrophied adult mind to bring itself to the level of the child mind with the dew of God’s morning upon it? By no means. The child should be prepared to accept the masterpieces. The child lives in his own world, his senses seem miraculously keen until he begins to believe that all lessons should be learned through books, and then the fatal art of printing is set up as a screen between him and the wonders of the world God has given him. One can no more read Shakspeare without seeing the unspoiled imagination of the Stratford boy than one can read St. John without feeling that the sunsets of Patmos were finer than any known in western skies,—at least they were finer to him whose imagination irradiated his observation.

The value of the exercise of the faculty of observation and of the process by which the imagination stores impressions, is nowhere more evident than in Shakspeare's plays. In "The Education of the Central Nervous System"—a book of great value to teachers—Mr. Halleck says :¹

"Every one ought to know how Shakspeare's senses were trained ; for in his sensory experience is to be found the formation of all those imperishable structures given to humanity by his heaven-climbing genius.

"Two things are true of Shakspeare,—his senses had magnificent training ; the stimuli of nature also had in him a wonderful central nervous system to develop. We shall not reach his heights, but if we have the proper training we shall ascend far higher than we could without it. If John Weakling can never make a Samson, that is no reason why John should not take proper gymnastic exercise, and develop his latent powers to the utmost. At their best they may be poor ; at their worst they may keep him through life the slave of underlings. After going through sensory training similar to Shakspeare's, any boy would be better fitted to cope with the world."

Mr. Halleck elaborates this passage by many quoted extracts from Shakspeare's Plays. Warwickshire is always present in the Plays, for Shakspeare never gets outside the sensory world of his boyhood, and from the treasury of that world come thousands of beautiful passages. The cowslip, with the drop of crimson in its cup, of "Cymbeline," the deer seen by Jaques from the roots of the oak, the action of the water as Ophelia is drawn down into the pool, the fairy-like bending of the pease-blossom, the moonlight on the wild thyme and the musk rose, the eglantine, the swan's nest in the great pond, the marsh marigold,—the dog out in the cold of "Lear," the chill before the dawn in "Hamlet," the shadow of the hawk stilling the singing of the lesser birds, the "plain-song cuckoo gray,"—a quick-eyed boy noted all these things in his walks in the most beautiful lanes and meadows and by the serenest river in England ; they were stored in his imagination, and when the time for expres-

¹ Page 171.

sion arrived they became like illuminated pictures in the text of a missal:

“Sleep no more,
Macbeth does murder sleep,—the innocent sleep,
Sleep that knits up the ravelled sleeve of care,
The death of each day's life, sore labour's bath,
Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,
Chief nourisher in life's feast.”

And Portia's illustration:

“The crow doth sing as sweetly as the lark
When neither is attended!”

On every page in the Plays we find the impressions taken from life illuminated in this way, and certainly any training which may so make the ordinary things of earth glow through the conjunction of memory and imagination must be good for the student of any age. But the older a man grows, the less vivid become his impressions,—so that the earlier the dramas of Shakspeare are used in the training of the central nervous system the better,—therefore a child ought to be interested as soon as possible in the study of nature and taught to absorb the beauty of the natural allusions in Shakspeare's plays. Shakspeare had seen the light clouds in the April sky on Stratford's fields and the swan's feather float upon the swell at the turn of the tide. And, later, he read the story of Octavius Cæsar, and Antony. And, when he came to represent the parting of Octavia's husband and brother from her, he makes her say:

“My noble brother!”

And, looking at her, Antony speaks:

“The April's in her eyes: it is love's spring,
And these the showers to bring it on—

Her tongue will not obey her heart, nor can
Her heart inform her tongue, the swan's down-feather,
That stands upon the swell at full of tide
And neither way inclines.”

The thing seen,—the veriest trifle it may seem to be at the moment,—becomes part of the imagination, to give a new beauty to thoughts and emotions, and to make life full of

suggestiveness. This synthesis between the sight of a thing and the power of assimilating it imaginatively is, often seems to be, a poetic gift,—in Shakspeare's case a supreme and inexplicable gift, according to the older theorists,—an explicable gift according to the younger. It is his alone, and, because he possessed genius or had an unusually live brain, it has produced a new wonder for the world ; consequently, his powers of assimilation and of giving out the result of this assimilation were special with him, and, though they may be admired, they cannot be imitated. No student of the soul will deny this. It is not a question for the pupil of being a genius, but it is a question of getting the greatest possible amount of contentment out of life. Men reach towards brightness and rest and change as the small sapling in the dense wood straightens itself towards the light. Psychologists have said, over and over again, that it is the avocations not the vocations of life that make it pleasant ; the means of higher pleasure cannot be too greatly multiplied, then, when life is young. The muscles of the body sleep, if not trained ; the sensory nerves and all the delicate ducts of the system require early training and constant activity as well. The memory becomes a precious collection of dynamic associations, if the art of observation and the results of this art are cultivated and pointed out. To store vital impressions and to so employ them that they may add to the joy of life is not the exclusive birthright of the poet, though a Shakspeare or a Wordsworth may possess it pre-eminently. To-day we are learning to use literature as an instrument in the education of the soul, not as end ;—as a means of development, not as an object to which the development of a few higher beings may tend. Every boy or girl may not feel Burns' thrill at the sight of a daisy, or Wordsworth's wonder that there should be any to whom a primrose should not give

“Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears,”

or Tennyson's passionate desire to know the meaning of the flower in the crannied wall, or Bryant's pleasure in the yellow violet ; but he may have at least a well-stored memory and be taught that there is “an hour of splendour in the grass, of glory in the flower,” and that this hour, assimilated with

human feeling or experience, may become a perpetual joy in the memory.

The Plays of Shakspeare, then, from the time that the child becomes capable of the process of connecting the things of nature with the emanations of the soul we call literature are fine instruments ready for the work of the teachers. Charles Lamb, who loved much and suffered much, and who never lost the insight of a grown-up child, saw this; and, seeing it, helped his sister to give the world the little classic called "Tales from Shakspeare."

"The plays of Shakspeare," says the preface of this delightful volume, are "enrichers of the fancy, strengtheners of virtue, a withdrawing from all selfish and mercenary thoughts, a lesson in all sweet and honorable thoughts and actions, to teach courtesy, benignity, generosity, humanity; for of examples teaching these virtues his pages are full."

The preface hints at the necessity of keeping the plays from very young persons, and suggests that young gentlemen, who are permitted to range in their father's library at an earlier age than the sister should, after careful selection, read certain parts of the plays to them. The demand for "supplementary reading" in the primary schools has been answered by "The Beginner's Shakspeare."¹ Charles and Mary Lamb tried to retain the language of Shakspeare in their charming stories as much as possible, and their work remains as important in introduction to Shakspeare as that other classic the "Tanglewood Tales" is to the Grecian myths. The acknowledgment of the value of Shakspeare's verse in developing the faculty of imagination has produced other carefully arranged editions for the young. The mere story, though it excited interest, was not enough, for the plots of Shakspeare's plays are only skeletons, and the arranged words of such dramas as can be adapted for the very young are needed in the cultivation of the imagination, as no masterpieces of literature are so well adapted for this end.

In the higher schools into which Shakspeare's plays have been introduced by wise educators, and the necessity of their study as part of the English requirements for entrance into

¹ Boston: Heath & Co.; Home and School Classics,

colleges insisted upon, several very unpedagogical mistakes have been made. The editions have been overburdened with notes,—some of them foolish or obvious and others so written as to avoid any explanation of real difficulties; and the study of the metres has been almost entirely neglected. I am not speaking of that scientific study which would be a waste of time in secondary or high schools, but of that study for the purpose of culture which would add much to the enjoyment of the art of reading and develop the sense of rhythm. Elaborate notes on “Hamlet” or “Julius Cæsar,” for instance, have no pedagogical value in school or college courses. They satiate the interest and cut off all discussion. To delay the reading of a play in order to consider a note that tells the pupil of the Warwickshire origin of “conditioned” when that word is used in III. 11. of “The Merchant of Venice” or that “to pun” in II. 1 of “Troilus and Cressida” means in Warwickshire “to quilt, leather, or pound” a man severely, and to compare the Warwickshire meaning with that of five other dialects, is simply to impede the movement of the drama. In many cases the aim of both the editor and teacher seems to be to burden the memory with details of little moment compared with the broadening and elevating of the pupil’s mind. The reading and study of Shakspeare ought to be not with the intention of inducing the student to accept conclusions, but to find conclusions for himself. In mathematics it is the process that is valuable to the pupil; in logic it is the process, too, and in physical and chemical laboratories as well, the teacher and pupil often know what the results will be; but the processes of the experiment are what the student must learn. The page overcrowded by answers to every possible question, the learned and unlearned conjecture in passages which might safely be left to the student’s own intuition, and the constant attempt to prejudice in favor of a personal interpretation, weary the attention and deaden the power of perception. The philology of the plays ought never to be neglected, but a too minute inquiry into it,—especially if the editor and teacher do all the inquiring,—is contrary to the axiom that the student, in all grades, should work for himself, with only such assistance as may clear his path without making it a royal road. In some of the high

schools too many plays are read lazily and without due attention to the condition of English speech in the Elizabethan and Jacobean time. While minute philological details, merely memorized, are detrimental to the progress of the development of the student, certain important changes, particularly the gradual loss of the Old English inflections, ought to be pointed out and illustrated, as well as the various meanings which distinguish modern words from those of the same form used by Shakspeare and his contemporaries. It is very easy to do too much of this. The study of Shakspeare in secondary and high schools must be to the student a labor of love. The moment it becomes perfunctory it ceases to be worth the effort. A good text, a glossary, a fac-simile of the First Folio, and an enthusiastic teacher will work wonders. Students whose reading has been almost incredibly limited will learn to get the best from "Hamlet" or "The Merchant of Venice," and, outside of the mental development, they will soon learn "by the feel," as it were, by the unconscious refinement of taste that comes of familiar contact with masterpieces, to know the inferior literary production when they see it. A man or woman brought up with "Hamlet" is not likely to speak of Marie Corelli as one of the elect. The purification of taste is a work not unworthy of the best equipped teacher. The rustic boy, fresh from the plow, whose reading has been confined to rudimentary text-books and the country paper, kept in close association with one of Shakspeare's best plays cannot fail to be so strengthened in taste and prejudiced in favor of luminousness, cleanliness, and beauty that he will neglect lesser things. I have observed that, from the boy of ten to the student of thirty, Shakspeare speaks to each according to his capacity. Of the hundreds of doctors' theses from the German universities Shakspeare furnishes the material for scores. At Oxford, even,—in the Cambridge Tripos, where one hardly expects to find an appeal to mere taste,—he is important as a basis for historical and philological work; in fact, in every department in practical pedagogy Shakspeare enters more and more; but in the intermediate and undergraduate courses one of his chief values is that, properly assimilated, he stands in the way of that mental frivolity and dissipation which, while it demands

the multiplication of new books, is ruinous to all concentrated and consecutive thought. "The great religious poets, the imaginative teachers of the heart, are never easy reading," Frederick Harrison says in "The Choice of Books." And Shakspeare, who is the first of the "imaginative teachers," is not easy reading from the point of view of the mob that spends "half a lifetime" in "snacking magazines and new poems." Frederick Harrison further says: "It is a true psychological problem, this nausea which idle culture seems to produce for all that is manly and pure in heroic poetry. The intellectual system of most of us in these days needs 'to purge and to live cleanly.' Only by a course of treatment shall we bring our minds to feel at peace with the grand, pure works of the world. To understand a great national poet, such as Dante, Calderon, or Goethe, is to know other types of human civilization, in ways in which a library of history does not sufficiently teach. The great masterpieces of the world are thus, quite apart from the charm and solace they give us, the master instruments of a solid education."

Nobody pretends that Shakspeare's plays are all great or all worthy of serious attention, or that they all have pedagogical possibilities beyond the uses of their philology; the greatest of them have defects, but these very defects are so personal, so natural, so much of the time, that even they may be made subjects for pregnant study. But when Shakspeare is noble he is supremely noble. His variety is infinite, and his power of stimulus and suggestion so strong that, once beloved, once even partially understood, he helps us to acquire that force of rejection which the modern reader, above all things, needs. The real teacher's motto is, "For the greater glory of God," and he groups together all beautiful and great things about his student beneath this motto. It is like the cross, as Ruskin saw it, in St. Mark's at Venice,—the great central fact. It is often borne in upon him with an iteration that makes him desperate how futile his efforts are against popular currents because in early life the pseudo-student's taste has not been directed. This taste is broad in the worst sense, and it accepts the road of the least resistance. It offers no obstacle to the vain, the frivolous, the philosophically untrue or the sensuously de-

structive. Its delights are those of the dreamer with no intellectual pilot.

It seems to be forgotten that good taste is one of the surest tonics for moral thinking, and some of us, who ought to know better, seem to imagine that it is one of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, which comes as a reward for the study of M. DeHarbe's Catechism. The teacher may talk as forcibly as Mr. Frederick Harrison has written on the value of the great books; he may declare with passion that a few books are best, but the popular desire for easy reading,—for the book about books, for the thing talked about,—will be too much for him. And yet, we all accept, the truth of the maxim of St. Thomas,—“*Natura autem nulli deest in necessariis*,”—and, therefore, the soul has its splendid auxiliary, the body. Why not admit that the education of the spiritual sense ought to have as auxiliary the education of its helper, good taste, at the earliest possible moment? The teacher needs all the assistance he can get from the soul of his pupil, and if the soul be prejudiced in favor of what is beautiful, his work becomes one of progression. It is a truism to say that trailing clouds of glory should surround the young soul and that its earthly guardians should, if possible, keep the knowledge of evil from it; all the adepts in “child study” have said this a thousand times. Let us be practical about it; and if we admit that good taste in art and literature are desirable aids to the seeing of that beauty which God gives us on earth, as a help to the knowledge of Him, why should we not, from the beginning of the child's school life, keep the evil of low aims from it? There should be no disputing about tastes, in the sense that there is, as regards truly great works, only one standard of taste; and this standard should be tactfully applied. The atheist who would sneer at the Book of Job or Isaias or the Apocalypse from the point of view of literary beauty would judge himself. Similarly, only a barbarian would attempt to displace Dante from the niche in which the universal consensus has put him. But the man who admires the Bible or Dante without reading either or knowing of himself why they are great is a dumb, driven follower of beauty. While Shakspeare never touches the grandeur of the Apocalypse or the majesty

of Dante, he remains as the finest interpreter of the heart that the world has ever known. The story of "The Merchant of Venice," full of the interest of romance when we are very young, becomes later a criticism of life, a treasure-house of philosophy, the tragedy of a soul and of a nation. It is the material, properly used, with which the teacher may work wonders for the solace of middle life, for the consolation of old age. In truth, if all the "rhetorics" were taken away, and the teacher were to use "Hamlet" or "King Lear" or "The Merchant of Venice" or "As You Like It," as physicists use substances in their laboratories, we should have clearer-headed men and women, very easily expressing themselves,—for, in English at least, there can be no rules of rhetoric capable of vitalized application which are not drawn from the practices of the masters. Dr. Rolfe has an admirable page on the teaching of elementary rhetoric by the inductive method.¹

"In the reading of poetry," Professor Rolfe says, "the essential principles and laws of versification may be taught, the pupil being made to deduce them for himself from the poem before him; . . . it is the right time for learning what children of larger growth often fail to acquire. The young child never errs in the rhythmical rendering of Mother Goose, that classic of the nursery; but adults and teachers, and sometimes even college professors, who have lost the childish sensitiveness to the music of verse, will often blunder in reading or reciting Shakspeare." Mr. Rolfe further indicates the use of those masterpieces in the teaching of elementary rhetoric. All young persons use tropes in daily conversation. "The small boy, who is so much given to similes that when he is hard up for a mere specific comparison he will say 'like *anything*,' making up in emphasis what the expression lacks in point and precision, will not be slow to recognize that sort of thing in the printed page if you call his attention to it. He will pick out the similes and metaphors as readily as the nouns and verbs and explain the resemblances on which they are based as easily as the syntax of subject and predicate. . . . To note and name these figures soon becomes a merely mechanical process—much like parsing, and as profitless; but to see whether

¹"The Elementary Study of English," W. J. Rolfe, Litt. Dr.; Harper & Bros.

the figure is apt or expressive or beautiful, and to find out and explain why it is so, is a practical lesson in truth and criticism."

The material for these exercises is supplied by any of the great plays of Shakspeare. No English author gives, ready at hand, such a wealth of objects on which to expend mental energy. The skilful teacher has long ago discarded the volume of "elegant extracts." It was Walter Savage Landor who, I think, said of somebody's sonnets that he did not like his sentiment cut up into little patty pans. The book of "elegant extracts" may, as a rule, be classed with these mechanical sonnets. But "Macbeth," "King Lear," "Hamlet," "Julius Caesar," "The Tempest," "As You Like It" may be so used that they accompany the student through his whole life, perennially giving forth new means of enjoyment and culture.

Who has not noticed the ease with which intelligent readers of Shakspeare acquire the inflections of his verse? And when, by practice, the metrical and rhythmical swing of his verse has become a thing of habit, a finer appreciation of all verse forms in English becomes no difficult matter. It has been often remarked that, while the teaching of English occupies so large a space in the catalogues of the intermediate schools,—all those above the rudimentary grades,—and in undergraduate university courses, a knowledge of the musical charm of English verse is exceedingly rare. The elocutionists of the older days insisted that blank verse should be read as prose, and the prosier you made your cadences and the more redundant were your gestures, the more satisfactory your "elocution" was supposed to be. The cunning music of Jacques' famous speech, beginning "All the world's a stage," was lost because it was understood that while it might be scanned in classes according to outworn Greek or Latin rules, its metre has no relation whatever to the uttering of it; and so when the "elocutionist," struggling to beat the five-accented Shaksperian iamb into dull monotony, spoke of the "whining schoolboy," he pointed to an imaginary satchel, and when he described the lover "writing a woeful ballad to his mistresses' eyebrow" he touched his own, and only a very nice sense of propriety prevented him from an appropriate gesture when he alluded to the justice:

"In fair, round belly, with good capon lined."

After many years it has been discovered that when a poet writes in verse he means to produce an effect through the ear, not only through the eye,—that when Shakspeare wrote in prose he fitted the form to the feeling, and that he intended that all his exquisite metrical interweaving of verse melody should be given by the only iustrument capable of uttering them,—that speaking voice which the pedagogues too much neglect. To what better use can the scene between Lear, mad through pride, adulation-fed, and his daughters be put than in the training of the concealed qualities of the voice? When a young woman can utter Cordelia's words,—“so young, my Lord, and true,”—with the simplicity and the musical flow that follows, “so young and so untender,” she has learned more than all the rules of scausion can teach her.

It was my intention to touch on some further uses of Shakspeare in the art of pedagogy, especially where philology and history are concerned and analysis and comparisou are so necessary; but I find that I have already made this paper longer than I wished,—yet I have only slightly sketched processes which are, with advantage, applied to the works of the greatest of all English masters in literature.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN COLLEGIATE TRAINING.

Before setting out to argue the claims of any science, or group of sciences, to a place in our collegiate curricula, it is well to make clear the concept of collegiate education that serves as a major premise for the discussion.

The premise from which this paper starts is, that the aim of the college—in so far as it is intellectual—is to give the student a symmetrical mental development, to train all the faculties of his mind, and to beget in him the power of consciously directing them. The thesis advocated is, that some study of the Social Sciences is necessary for the attainment of this symmetrical development.

The function of the college, as here understood, is to do for the mind what a well appointed and well directed gymnasium aims to do for the body,—an analogy recognized in the German system of education by the application of the name “gymnasium” to those schools of secondary grade that aim at a liberal training.

In the physical gymnasium it is recognized that certain forms of exercise are specially adapted to the development of particular sets of muscles; and that the symmetrical development of the whole muscular system,—the development that gives to the body strength, poise, and agility and grace of movement,—is secured only by a suitable combination of varied forms of exercise.

This conception of the function of a college will be readily granted by the advocates of a fixed curriculum that aims to give the student what is termed a “liberal” education,—or perhaps it would be better to say the “basis” for a liberal education. It cannot be too much or too often emphasized that education is the matter of a life-time, and that the most the college or the university, or both together, can do is to lay deep and strong the foundations for future building up.

The root idea of fixed collegiate curricula recognizes that different studies are peculiarly adapted to the training of this

or that faculty of the mind ; and the proposition underlying any curriculum laid down as a required course for a degree that proclaims a "liberal" education is that a symmetrical mental development is best attained by the combination of studies there outlined.

Despite the attacks that have been made against it, the principle here embodied is a correct one. The best arguments in its favor are unwittingly furnished by those who oppose it. The rage for specialization is daily furnishing an abundance of objective proof that the study of a single branch of knowledge, however profound and extensive that study may be, is in itself inadequate for a symmetrical mental development. The "narrow specialist" has become a byword ; and we have to admit that too often the result of what we term the "higher education" is a creature highly skilled in the technique of some particular science, but devoid of the wider philosophic grasp, afflicted with a sadly distorted mental perspective, and, despite his education, an utter Philistine.

This may be the inevitable price we have to pay for the undoubted benefits of that specialization for which the modern university stands. But it is none the less an evil, and one that ought not to be allowed to creep into the domain of collegiate training. A tendency towards this narrow, one-sided development cannot fail to result from any radical electivism in collegiate work that allows a student wholly to exclude from his course one or several groups of science. Left free to his own choice, the average student will naturally select his studies according to his instinctive likings, which in turn will probably correspond to his elemental aptitudes. But this, instead of being to his ultimate advantage, will bring it about that in the end the very faculties that most needed to be called into action and developed will be the ones that have been ignored and that have in consequence remained undeveloped. The result is a half-educated man. The saner method, as adopted in physical training, is to lay stress on those very forms of exercise that tend to develop the muscles or organs which examination has shown to be the weakest.

It does not follow, however, that this danger of a one-sided mental development is avoided by clinging to a fixed curricu-

lum. The *crux* of the whole matter lies in the nature of that curriculum. If it omit one group, or several groups, of science, it fails to attain the aim of symmetrical development, just as much as the system of the freest electivism may. In fact, it fails even more completely; for under the elective system any student can, if he wish,—and some students will, in all probability,—get a well-rounded mental development, while in the case of the poorly arranged curriculum all its victims alike are removed from such a possibility.

A course, for example, devoted mainly to the humanities, with the addition of some modern history and English, some training in formal logic, and a certain amount of work in mathematics to represent the scientific side, is entirely inadequate for purposes of general mental training or of liberal “culture.” Nor does the mere increasing of the work required in mathematics, or the addition at random of some of the many branches of “science” necessarily remedy the defect. What is required is a complete rearrangement of the whole course, and a judicious selection of typical branches of science. The numerous sciences fall together into more or less clearly distinguishable groups, and each has its own distinct disciplinary value.

Thus, to confine ourselves to an elementary survey of some of the fields of science available for collegiate study, we can readily see the different forms of training that come from different groups of sciences.

The mathematical sciences give a superb training in certain lines, and of a sort that can not be gained from study in any other department of the field of knowledge. But at its best it is a very one-sided training, and it apparently leaves certain faculties untouched. Every teacher of any experience in collegiate work has come in contact with scores of boys who were unusually clever in mathematics and more than ordinarily stupid in other lines of study. The training given by mathematics, though rigid and exact, is narrow. The line of progress is straight, but the field of vision on either side is extremely limited. They teach precision and concentration, but they do not call into play at once all the faculties of observation and judgment. The student of geometry, for instance, demonstrates

that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. He has demonstrated this fact by a series of steps, each capable of exact verification, and if he have any doubt of the correctness of his conclusion he has only to go over his reasoning again. A single demonstration has established the truth of the proposition, and has established it independent of all conditions. Its truth is independent of the nature of matter, and is unaffected by conditions of time and place. It is as true in another planet as it is in this one; and it was as true ages ago as it is now, and will be as true ages hence. There has been no need to take account of any outside factors or conditions. No extensive knowledge of matter or force has been required, nor any wide grasp of principles, or fine balance of judgment. Any normal mind that could perceive the force of an axiom and follow the rigid rules of logic could demonstrate the proposition; and no two such minds could reach two different conclusions.

But when the student comes to the study of the physical sciences, he is compelled to widen the field of his observation, and to take account of factors and conditions that were negligible in mathematics. A single demonstration no longer suffices to establish a general truth, independent of all conditions. There are many possible sources of error involved in every experiment, and these have to be understood and guarded against. And when all possibilities of error have been eliminated, as far as may be, and an accurate result obtained through repeated experiments, it can only be laid down as true for the particular conditions under which the experiments have been made. To establish a general law a large number of experiments have to be made under different conditions, and new methods devised to eliminate or to vary one or another condition. * Thus, the many new elements that enter into our field when we come to the Physical sciences, render their study more complicated than that of mathematics, and demand in the student a wider range of knowledge. They exercise in him alert and acute powers of observation, and a discrimination of judgment that are not called out in mathematical study,—in fine, they bring into play a new set of faculties.

When the student passes on to the Biological sciences, new elements again enter into the field. The objects of his study are now acted upon not only by forces from without, but also by forces from within. New and more subtle conditions have to be taken account of. Evolutionary forces that had no place in the groups of sciences we have just considered now have to be reckoned with. The field of observation is thus widened and rendered increasingly complex. New methods of study have again to be devised to meet new conditions; new powers of judgment have to be called into play; and in consequence a higher form of training is afforded than either the physical or the mathematical sciences can give.

The disciplinary value of the study of the groups of sciences that have been here enumerated is pretty generally conceded, and the best chosen curricula now take advantage of the specific training offered by each group.

We may now turn our attention to a large and important class of phenomena that are to-day being assiduously investigated, and consider the claim to a place in collegiate curricula of the sciences that are growing out of these investigations. This class embraces all those phenomena that spring from the existence of society, as well as the fundamental phenomenon of society itself, and we therefore term them social phenomena. For example, authority, government, law, armies, railroads, taxes, wages, objective value, money, credit, panics, factories, banks,—all these are phenomena that are due to the existence of the thing we call society, just as organic growth, nutrition, circulation, sensation, are phenomena due to the existence of the thing we call life. Social phenomena have at bottom a common causal relation, and are of a nature, and are influenced by forces and conditions, that can not be investigated or measured by the methods adapted to other groups of sciences.

In consequence we are now witnessing the rapid building up of a separate group of correlated sciences known as the Social Sciences. In its widest meaning this term is ordinarily understood to embrace Ethics, History, Law, Sociology, Political Science, and Economics. But in what follows, only the last three are kept in mind. Ethics has reached a more or less crystallized state, its methods are determined, and its princi-

ples well established ; and it has, moreover, an absolute value that is so far above any mere disciplinary value that it seems supererogatory to discuss its claims to attention as a means of mental training. History is an all embracing term, and it is not possible to assign it a place wholly in any one group of sciences. It belongs partly in every group ; and in so far as it deals with social phenomena, and is scientific, it will be found to be largely absorbed by the other social sciences. This latter statement will apply equally to the subject of Law, which falls largely within the domains of Sociology and of Political Science.

There remains, then, to be considered, Sociology, Political Science and Economics. These have for their aim the analysis of the nature of social phenomena, the apprehension of the forces that lie behind them, the measurement of the constancy and the intensity of these forces, and the discovery and formulation of the laws according to which they operate. Social phenomena differ in kind, as has been said, from those studied by other groups of science. The forces to which they are due and the conditions by which they are influenced are at once subtle and complicated. New methods of study and analysis have to be devised, a new field of observation is opened, and an exercise is afforded for faculties and powers of judgment that are not called into play in any other part of the field of knowledge. A curriculum, therefore, that excludes the social sciences shuts its students out from a form of mental discipline that cannot be compensated for by any amount of work in other fields, and without which that symmetry of development aimed at in collegiate training cannot be attained. And any attempt to cover this field as a mere subordinate topic in Ethics or Philosophy proper is just a little worse than no training at all. It merely puffs the student up into a state of windy argumentativeness, as Carlyle put it, and leaves him worse than undeveloped.

But the mental training that the Social Sciences offer is not of a sort that can well be utilized in the earlier stages of collegiate work. The wider the field of any science, and the more subtle and complex the forces and conditions that are to be studied, the more will that science tend to bring into play the

whole range of the faculties of observation and judgment, and the better will be the mental training afforded; but the less will that study be suited to the capacity of the untrained mind, and in consequence the less will it be available for employment in the earlier stages of training. The natural method of training would, therefore, be to lead up to the more complicated branches of study through the simpler forms. Under such a process the student who has gone through the discipline afforded by the studies appropriate to the earlier years of his course ought to be able to enter with profit on the study of the Social Sciences in the third year of his collegiate work.

It is not pretended here that it is any more difficult to learn a few more or less important facts about social forces, or to learn and repeat glibly some narrow definition of "authority," or "government," or "money," than it is to learn the multiplication table or to demonstrate the propositions of Euclid. But it was stated at the beginning of this paper, and it has been kept in view in all that followed, that collegiate training should aim to give to the student a conscious direction of his mental processes. To this end there should be brought out clearly for him the nature and scope of the science that he chances to be studying, the specific character of its problems, and its place in the domain of knowledge. He should be made to see the reason why one group of phenomena is isolated and studied apart, and the processes by which the different groups of sciences are built up; and should be made to understand the nature of the particular method of study followed in each group of sciences, and wherein it is similar to the methods adapted to the other groups he has studied, and wherein it is dissimilar. Only in this way can the student get a broadening of his mental horizon, the capacity to grasp relations and to rise to philosophic generalization, and, above all, the power of directing his mental processes consciously. In so far as he fails to attain this in some measure, he fails of symmetrical development.

It is from this point of view that the Social Sciences have been assigned a place in the later years of the collegiate course. It is only after the student has a clear notion of the nature of science, and of scientific method and its problems,

that he is prepared to take up with profit the study of Social phenomena.

The view here taken of the aim and method of collegiate work disposes by implication of the plea frequently urged against the claim of the Social Sciences to a place in collegiate curricula, that they are still in such an unformed state that little advantage can be derived from their study. This might have force if we see in the college only a machine for pumping into the student facts of all degrees of importance or unimportance. But it has no force if we regard the college as an institution for training the mind to discover facts for itself.

The Social Sciences have not by any means reached the stage of development that characterizes the other groups of science that have been mentioned here, nor can they be expected ever to attain to the perfection of form or to the exactness of statement that mark these. In this respect, the physical sciences can never rival the mathematical. The same may be said of the biological as compared with the physical sciences; and equally of the social sciences as compared with the biological. But in a large way it may be laid down as true that the disciplinary value of a science is often in inverse ratio to its possibility of exactness. Where the failure to attain to exactness is due to the variety and subtlety of the forces and conditions that have to be taken into account, or to the extent of field over which observation has to range, the effort of the investigator to attain such approximate exactness as is possible will give a more general play to the faculties of the mind, will give a keener exercise to the powers of judgment, than would the simpler processes of attaining exact truth in a narrower field. In the same way, the study of a science when in its formative period, and when the mind is still largely occupied with the criticism or the development of the method of investigation best adapted to its problems, affords a peculiarly promising field for mental discipline, and when properly carried on awakens in the student all the faculties required in the investigator. All this may furnish a reason why the study of the social sciences should be deferred to the later years of a collegiate course; but so far from being a reason

why they should be excluded altogether, it furnishes the strongest sort of reason why they should be given a place, and an important place, in any curricula that aim at the completest mental development.

And, moreover, amongst those not familiar with them, there is a very general misconception as to the state of development of these sciences. Sociology is the most undeveloped of the group, and as it has had the misfortune to be made a fad of by a host of untrained minds, and to have all sorts of impractical reforms and absurd, even "freakish," investigations thrust under the public notice in its name, it has come to pass that the work of its serious investigators is frequently lost sight of, its real nature obscured, and a false notion given of the whole group of social sciences. But even allowing all that may be said as to the present rudimentary character of Sociology, there remains the fact that the sciences of Politics and Economics have reached a stage of development not generally appreciated and one that fairly entitles them to the rank and dignity of sciences.

Without some training in the field of the Social Sciences the student misses some of the best and highest forms of training. Some of the higher and more acute faculties of mind that these sciences call into play are left either wholly or almost wholly undeveloped by other branches of study.

One has not to go far to prove that the training given in other fields of knowledge does not necessarily fit the mind for work in this field. It is only necessary to engage in serious discussion with men trained, and even highly trained, in other fields of science to find how inadequately equipped they are for grappling with social problems.

Some, who have grasped the fundamental fact of science, who have acquired what we may term the scientific instinct, at once look for some uniformity in the operation of social forces, and assume that behind social phenomena there is discoverable law, just as there is behind the phenomena of the physical or the vital world. In so far they are right. But they also, instinctively, apply to their discussion of social phenomena the same tests of judgment, the same method of reasoning, that they apply in the particular fields of science with which

they happen to be most familiar. They fail to take account of the fact that the forces at work behind social phenomena are very different in kind from the forces at work in other fields of study, and must be analyzed and tested by different processes. They assume the same constancy, simplicity, and directness of action in social forces that are found in physical forces. They fail to allow for the added element of teleology that enters as a modifying factor. In consequence they reason crudely. There are obvious practical disadvantages in this that we need not stop to point out now. For the present we are interested only in the evidence of the absence of symmetrical development that is here shown. It is, of course, too much to expect that a mind should be equally strong in every field of thought; but to fail to discriminate between the processes of investigation and of thought adapted to different fields, to attempt mechanically to apply to all alike processes adapted nicely to only one, is to confess ignorance of method or absence of mental suppleness.

But another, and a larger class, despite their training in other fields, never assume the existence of law behind social phenomena. They seem to regard these as a congeries, unrelated, chaotic, and resulting from the blindest chance. They misconceive entirely the nature of social forces. They do not realize that despite free will and individual caprice an "unceasing purpose" lies behind it all, and that law, order, harmony lie behind all these seemingly chaotic phenomena. They do not get beyond the concrete individual, do not grasp the idea of "the group," with its momentum and its continuity. They miss the whole force and meaning of group activity. The nature of social forces thus eludes them. They cannot conceive, for example, that custom and tradition are forces as real, as persistent, as measurable as are the forces that the physicist tests with his balance; or that prejudice may be an obstacle as impassable as a mountain chain. They cannot grasp the nature of institutions that are not embodied in brick and mortar, or other concrete form, but consist alone in a durable set of relations. This class has never been educated out of the stage of the "concrete." They still regard the Great Pyramid as one of the seven wonders of the world, but do not appreciate that

the race persistence of the despised Jew is a far greater wonder. Their education has failed to develop that finer sense that appreciates the nature of moral forces and that sees how ideas are, after all, the only enduring, the only real things.

Thus, the Social Sciences have a distinct disciplinary value, and that, too, of the highest order. Not only do they claim a place in any curricula that aim at a symmetrical development of all the faculties of the mind, but they afford one of the best means for that training of the keener faculties of the mind and judgment which represents the flower of mental culture.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

THE PERENNIAL FOUNTAINS OF MOUNT LEBANON.¹

Before entering on my subject, it would seem that I owe you a word of apology or at least of explanation for the title of this paper. I am not a professional geographer, much less a professional hydrographist. The aim of my eastern trip during last summer was not to investigate any particular subject immediately connected with the hydrography of Mount Lebanon. I was, in fact, bound for Jerusalem for reasons merely archæological. As for Mount Lebanon I simply expected to rehearse in the country itself, what I had for many years read in the works of geography or travel. Baalbek and Damascus were the only points I wished to see in detail, and those, again, for archæological reasons. Circumstances changed all my plans, as soon as I landed in Syria. Instead of one stay in Mount Lebanon, I made two;² both times waiting for a boat for my destination, and I am still to see Baalbek and Damascus. It was not all loss, however; during my first visit I explored the seashore with the western spurs of Mount Lebanon from Beirût to Gebeil and Amshît,³ taking in Gazir and Antûrah,

¹ Discourse read before the Philosophical Society of Washington, Jan. 22, 1900

² I take great pleasure in giving here public thanks, for many favors and kind attentions, to the Apostolic Delegate of Beirut, His Grace Archbishop Duval, O. P. I and to Monsieur le Comte de Sercey, Consul-General of France; also to vice-consul, Péan, who so worthily represent the Catholic Church and the French Government in Syria. Not only did Mgr. Duval give me a cordial and generous hospitality, but he did not hesitate to deprive himself of the services of his able Secretary, Rev. Father Béré, O. P. This gave me a companion in my excursion to Gebeil and Amshît. I am also under much obligation to the Jesuit and Lazarist missionaries, the latter especially, who received me in Smyrna, Beirût, Antûrah and Reïfûn as if I had been one of their own family, and in every way facilitated my researches.

³ At Amshît, I enjoyed for one night the hospitality of Mr. Tobias Shelhub, whose father entertained Ernest Renan during his excavations at Gebeil in 1861. Mr. Shelhub had installed me in the very room once occupied by the famous explorer, and there he and his family sat with us until late in the night commenting upon the good qualities and piety of Monsieur and Mademoiselle Renan. Renan, he said, never missed Mass while he was there, and so devoutly did he behave in church that he was the edification of all. "But," we asked, "what kind of a death did Mademoiselle Henriette die?" "Why! a most edifying death," answered our host,—whose testimony was also confirmed by a priest who was there present as altar boy,—"She devoutly received the last Sacraments and is now buried in our own family-grave. M. Renan said he would bring her home or erect a separate tomb for her, but he never wrote any more about it." Renan says (*Mission de Phénicie*, p. 12) that hastily summoned to the death-bed of his sister, he was struck with a spell of the same fever and swooned by her side, not to recover consciousness until she was dead. I thought these "anecdota" might be of interest to such as have read the "*Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*."

also the valley of the River of Beirût up to Bhamdoon. During my second stay I visited the province of Kesrwan from west to east along the Dog River and its chief tributary, the River of the Cross, to the top of the Sannîn, the second highest range of Mount Lebanon. The object I had principally in view, in accepting that change of program, was to become acquainted with the many and various monasteries and institutions of different rites for which the province has long been famous. This, however, cannot be done without giving much attention to the physical condition of the country, over which one has to travel.

It invites your attention when you stand on the terraces of one of those high-nestling convents, whence the eye embraces every manner of landscape, from the orange grove slumbering along the blue, tepid waters of the Mediterranean to the snow lingering on the high peaks, only a few miles away as the crow flies. It commands your attention when, perched on the high pack-saddle of a mule, you travel from one convent to another, first down, then up the chasms of the mountain torrents, along precipitous tracks where boulders run like water under the hoof of the brute, who seems to say: "Just sit still on my back, if you can, and I will do the rest." Thus it was that my thoughts began first to ramble from one problem of natural history to another looking for a solution, then to concentrate on one special problem, namely, the origin of the perennial fountains or Nebaa, of Mt. Lebanon, in contradistinction with the ordinary spring or 'Aïn.

This being a mixed question of geology and hydrography, it will not be amiss to begin with a short description of the formation of Mount Lebanon and of its system of rivers. The western slope of Mount Lebanon divides into three strips, running parallel to the seashore from northeast to southwest, the plain or Sahil, the middle region or Wusut, and the high mountain of Jurd.

The plain, in fact, is nothing more than the coast or seashore; in its widest spots it hardly exceeds a mile, while in many places it is interrupted by the mountainous offshoots of the middle region, as, for instance, at the mouth of the Dog River. Its climate is subtropical, and so is its flora. It is fertile, well cultivated, and relatively thickly settled.

The middle region rises abruptly from the plains, in some cases from the sea, to an elevation ranging from two to and over five thousand feet. It is pierced in every direction by deep torrent or mountain river-beds, generally abundantly supplied with water, most of which, however, comes from vauclisian fountains gushing from the rock, in small insignificant side ravines. Those valleys are generally as narrow as they are deep. Rarely do they expand enough to render culture possible, in which case they shelter villages or towns; otherwise they are barren, in spite of the water that dashes along their rocky beds, and hardly offer a sign of human life except an occasional mill, and more frequently the head of a service-canal that runs along the sides of the valley, to carry the vivifying water to distant crest-riding towns and mulberry orchards. Those valleys are evidently the result of geological disturbances, combined with agents of erosion, no longer at work with the same intensity. They well deserve the name of chasms that geographers usually give them; yet they do not affect the general scenery of the middle region, for one does not suspect their existence until one comes on the very brink of their precipitous slopes. In every direction the eye rests on rounded crests studded with prosperous towns and steep hill-sides all clad in verdure. The general impression is one of wonderful fertility such as can only result from a warm, unclouded sky above a soil abundantly supplied with moisture.

Above that middle region towers the Jurd or high-mountain, rising to an elevation of eight to ten thousand feet, bleak and barren and rather uniform and monotonous in its contours; beautiful, however, and majestic in its wild nakedness. The valleys of the middle region continue up to the summit in their former proportions. But they are waterless; no trees, no culture, no vegetation, except thistles and other numerous species of thorny weeds. Only here and there a spring, not overflowing, creates a kind of oasis with a cluster of trees and a few fields of rye or barley.

The rocks of which those three divisions originally consisted were chiefly lower cretaceous strata resting on a thick layer of brownish sandstone, supported in its turn by strata of jurassic limestone. At a period which I leave for special-

ists to determine, the jurassic strata were pushed up through the sandstone and cretaceous strata, thus causing their western half to slope towards the sea while the eastern half slopes towards inner Syria. In the province of Kesrwan the jurassic formation crops out between the burst strata of the lower cretaceous and forms the bulk of the middle region, while the lower cretaceous forms both the plain and the high-mountain, besides the eastern and western borders of the middle region. Further north, however, it but rarely comes to the surface; thus we find the same geological formation in the barren high-mountain as in the fertile plain and middle region. The strong contrast of those regions was the first problem that attracted my attention; why was the high mountain so perfectly barren, when the middle region was so fertile? Apparently, because the high mountain had no water, whilst the middle region had plenty of it. But if there was no water on the high mountain, what was the origin of the perennial fountains in the middle region? The winter rains could not justify such an abundance of water during the dry season, for they immediately run into the valley to be carried away. Besides, most of the fountains, in fact, are not in the middle region but on a much higher level between the middle region and the high mountain. Therefore the water came from the mountain. The only explanation I could find in geographers was the one of Reclus, who accounts for the abundance of water in the rivers of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, by the height of those mountains which allows them to stop and condense the damp winds from the Mediterranean, and to the hollow description of the rocks which allow the water to run underground with practically no loss from evaporation. This, however, did not satisfy me. For, as Volney¹ observed, the condensed vapors of the sea do not as a rule reach the region above the fountains, they are stopped by the height of the range or rather by its height combined with its nearness to the sea. As I could observe every day myself, those clouds stop in the valleys of the middle region, hardly ever reaching the Jurd; a small proportion only of them cross the range; the mass returns to the sea at about ten at night, without leaving any dampness on, much

¹Volney—"Voyage en Syrie," vol. I, 293.

less in, the soil.¹ During the whole summer, says Volney,² one sees but few clouds, much less rain; rain begins only in October, and then it does not last, nor does it fall abundantly. The rainy season is November and December, and then in high regions takes the shape of snow. But if the fountains were not fed from the condensation of the clouds on the high summits, what was their origin? Surely not that little patch of snow lingering in a crevice. The oriental saying that Mount Sannîn carries winter on his head, spring on his slopes and summer at his feet, has long since been exploded, the geographers inform us. However, I had made up my mind to investigate thoroughly the problem that had forced itself on my attention. Its solution seemed to me all important; for the fountains of Kesrwan were not special to that province. Similar ones exist all over Syria. From the Jordan and the Leontes to the Orontes, from Damascus to Tripolis and Beirût, we find them everywhere encircling the different blocks of mountains, and with them appears vegetation and culture; above them all is sterile and desert. Without the powerful contribution of the fountains of Tell-el-Kadi, Banias and Hasbeya, the waters of the Jordan would certainly never reach the Dead Sea, no more than the Orontes would the Mediterranean, without the tribute of the fountains of Mar Marûn, Lebweh and Tannûr. It is the fountain Fidjeh, not the Barada, that makes Damascus the gem of the East, and but for Neba' el Leben, Neba' el 'Asal, and Neba' el Hadid, Beirût would still be the insignificant town it was before the aqueduct of the Nahr-el-Kelb was built. In one word, without those fountains the greater portion of Syria would be more barren and desert, more rebel to agriculture than Palestine itself. All those fountains have long since come to the knowledge of geographers, but never, that I then knew, had they been made the subject of a general study. As far as their origin was concerned, it was out of question for me to undertake anything like a general exploration to that effect. Yet before throwing up the whole question in despair I thought I would climb to the top of the Sannîn and see for myself whether it would not

¹Volney—"Voyage en Syrie," vol. I, sqq. 817.

²Op. cit., vol. I, 296.

suggest a solution that would satisfy me more than the theory of imaginary condensed vapors.¹

I started with two companions² from Reifûn, one of the highest towns in the middle region, on the last day of July, early in the morning. The whole forenoon was spent in crossing the chasm of the River of the Cross. At noon we arrived at Mezraat, a well-watered and widely scattered crest-riding town; another hour brought us to the bottom of a small valley, where we stopped an hour or so by the water for a rest and a lunch from what we had reserved for the evening meal, expecting to find our lunch in Mezraat, in which we failed. At that point we entered the high range, and rode three full hours under the burning sun without striking water. The formation was first jurassic, then sandstone, then cretaceous rock. At five we found a couple of shepherds' huts by a small spring, with a tiny patch of kitchen garden. We halted there. At six we came to a much more abundant spring, called Aïn Sannîn. We expected to find there a regular Khan, with accommodation for the night. We were mistaken. There was no Khan; only two small huts consisting of but one room each for the host and his family, and a porch made of boughs and foliage for guests. Still, for reasons obvious to all travelers in the East, we were satisfied to sleep outdoors in spite of the coolness of the night. After a heroic fight with a chicken, furnished by our landlady, we tried to convince ourselves that we had eaten a good dinner and went to sleep. At 3 o'clock we were up; after a breakfast, as imaginary as the dinner of the night before, we climbed on our mules and began the ascension in earnest. We had been told that

¹ I owe to my good name, as well as to E. H. Palmer and Captain Burton, to state here that those two explorers had practically solved this problem long before me; the former in the "Quarterly Statement" of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1871, and the latter in the first chapter of his excellent work, "Unexplored Syria," I, p. 126. Geographers, however, do not seem to have taken any notice of this important discovery. Besides, my exploration covered a field somewhat different from theirs, and although it was restricted to the system of Mount Sannîn, it had sufficed to convince me that the other perennial fountains of Mount Lebanon had the same origin as those at the foot of that mountain, so that I am indebted to my predecessors for nothing further than the satisfaction of finding the result of my observations confirmed by their more extensive explorations.

² Rev. A. Janssen, O. P., Professor of Arabic in the Ecole pratique d'Etudes Bibliques, in Jerusalem, and Rev. Chevalier, C. M., then Professor in the College of Antûrah. To them also are due my thanks for many an act of kindness, and for unfailing cheerfulness during this hard, and to them relatively uninteresting, excursion.

an hour would be plenty to reach the summit of the mountain, whence we seriously expected to see the sun rise. Our route was first along the path to Zahleh, an important town on the eastern slope of the mountain. We had scarcely reached the pass when we understood how grossly we had been misinformed. For a faint glow—harbinger of dawn—was already glimmering on the Anti-Lebanon, and the summit of Sannin seemed as high above us as when we left our camp. From the pass or *col* we turned at right angles to the left and continued, willing to enjoy the risen sun, which the intense cold made quite an appropriate substitute for the rising sun. We climbed from crest to crest until we reached the ridge proper; this, however, was so precipitous, on its southern end that we decided to reach its summit by the opposite end, and, to that effect, we entered upon a narrow path along the western slope. A more dangerous substitute for a path I never saw before, not even in the mountains of Armenia. The slope of the mountain formed there an angle of 20 or 25 degrees with the vertical line. From the summit to the valley beneath, twelve or fifteen hundred feet below us, it was strewn with small stones, perfectly loose. We had to dismount and walk carefully in a single file to avoid being precipitated like the stones our guides delighted to set in motion with a slight touch of the foot, to show us how they could roll and set an avalanche of others rolling with thundering roar down to the abyss.

After an hour or so of that dangerous traveling we reached the foot of what our guides told us was the highest peak of Sannin. At that point a side ridge detaches itself from the main ridge in a northwesterly direction. As far as I could ascertain, it must be the one that separates the Dog-River system from the one of the Adonis. Beyond, to the north, the main range continues with a succession of peaks gradually diminishing in height. The juncture of the two ridges forms a kind of table-land, sloping towards the northwest. That table-land, however, is by no means flat; it is studded with peaks, or rather, if I may so express myself, with gigantic rocky knobs, roughly arranged in quincunxes, between which are large circular holes or sinks in the shape of craters or funnels filled

with snow. These are called thalladjât by the people of the country, that is, snow-houses, because they supply Beirût and the other towns of the plain with snow during the summer. And our guides told us that the dangerous bridle-path along which we had come was the work of the muleteers, who come daily to that very spot for the supply of snow. We halted on the brink of the first thalladjât for a rest and a frugal lunch from our saddle-bags, after which we began to wind our way down between the peaks and the snow-holes. Of the latter we saw quite a number, the highest ones being generally the largest, and measuring not less than three hundred feet in diameter. In every case we found it difficult to ride or walk between the snow and the steep walls of the holes. One of those was so deeply set in the surrounding rocks that we had to ride across the snow, which, against our expectation, proved to be quite resisting under the hoofs of our mules, probably because at that early hour the sun was not yet high enough to touch it with its warm rays. Passing from one snow-hole to another, I could ascertain that the holes were perfectly without outlet on their sides. I must add that we never met one of those holes with water, even in the slightest quantity. The thickness of snow diminished gradually in the holes as we were descending, until we found nothing but mud, first slightly wet, then perfectly solid; whence I concluded that as the snow melts the water filters immediately through fissures in the underlying rock. Those fissures, however, we could not see, very likely because they are concealed by the slime through which the water first percolates. In one instance only did we find snow in a crevice with water trickling down on the surface of the ground; I thought first it was the head of a stream that continued down to the valley below, but soon I discovered that the water was stopped by a moraine and disappeared in the soil. That was the first water we had met since the night before, and we were not to see water again until we reached the Neba'-el-Leben, several thousand feet below. It was also the last snow, and if I remember well, we did not meet any more such snow-sinks beyond that point. We had reached the northwest limit of the table-land; it had taken about one hour to cross it.

On an advanced spur of that table-land, like a promontory

looming over a sea of frozen waves, stands a ruin called Qala'at Sannîn, probably a temple or a tower of observation. We halted there to examine it, and then continued downward. So far we had been descending on our patient mules, but I do not know of any verb that corresponds exactly to the operation of which we now became the victims. Of course, we first dissolved partnership with our respective mules, then with one another, then with our guides. Now standing, now sitting, we all half rolled, half slid down, on and with the stones of the mountain, until we finally all met again at the bottom of a valley, soon to undergo the same operation. None of us felt like resting, for there was no place to rest; the sun was intensely hot; there was no shade, no water, no sign of human life. The best was evidently to keep on rolling and sliding until we reached a spring. During that operation all I had left in me of intellectual power was painfully concentrated, as in a nightmare on one point: What had become of all that melting snow we had seen on the table-land, and for a handful of which I would now give a king's ransom? All on a sudden the answer came to me in the shape of a river boiling up as from a huge kettle at the foot of a steep cliff, without a tree or a plot of grass to announce its presence—just where you would least expect to find water. It was Neba'el-Leben, the Fountain of Sour Milk. The cliff faces almost due west. It was 11 o'clock and there was just shade enough to cover the narrow path that runs along the rock ten or twelve feet above the fountain. We halted there; mules, men and guides in a single file, and enjoyed for a full hour a well-deserved rest. Presently, in spite of the hardness of the couch, our eyelids felt heavy and, lulled by the murmur of the mammoth fountain, we all temporarily forgot our troubles; the heroic fight with the chicken of the night before, the imaginary breakfast of the morning (that was the easiest part), the rope-dancing along the Sannîn's precipitous slopes, our tumbling down from chasm to chasm, even the hydrographical problems. For the fountain beneath us was the answer to the riddle of the fertility of the middle region below us, and of the snow swallow-holes way above as well, just as those were the answer to the riddle of the fountain.

Any treatise of geology will remind us of the process by which water in cretaceous rocks, when not allowed to flow on the surface to a valley, will find its way between the strata, disintegrate these rocks, both chemically and mechanically, cutting for itself first a narrow channel, which it soon enlarges by undermining and crumbling its walls, thus forming deep lakes and gigantic halls, which it adorns with fantastic pillars and columns. I beg only to repeat what I have said, namely, that the incline of the strata on the Sannin table-land directs the waters towards the east, where, being soon stopped by the main crest, they become stagnant and naturally seek an outlet through the crevices and fissures of the underlying rocks. There is no doubt that a fault in those rocks, or some other geological accident, brings those waters back to strata sloping to the west, hence their appearance at the western foot of the high mountain.

From the narratives of Palmer and Burton I understand that the perennial fountains of northern Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, and Mt. Hermon are also to be explained by the presence of swallow-holes on their table-lands. A similar, or at least analogous, hydrographical condition exists elsewhere, both in this country and in Europe, not, however, to my knowledge, on as large and universal a scale as on Mt. Lebanon, nor in the region of perpetual snows.

HENRY HYVERNAT.

THE FACTORY AS AN ELEMENT IN SOCIAL LIFE.

A superficial study of the factory in almost any community leads to the conclusion that it has a deteriorating influence upon the operative as well as upon the population surrounding it, but this is only the superficial view. Managers of factories are perfectly familiar with the deeper, underlying ethical aspects of the question. Thirty years ago, before I began the investigation of social and economic conditions, I very naturally adopted the superficial view, but as my investigations proceeded, and as I studied the real relation of the factory to common, every-day life, I was obliged to change my attitude. It is only natural that this superficial view should obtain in the popular mind. Almost every writer, certainly with rare exceptions, adopts the view that the factory has been beneficial in a purely economic sense. Few are ready to adopt the idea that the factory has been of itself and through its own influence an element in civilization or an element in lifting up the social life of any of the people.

The latter view results from a superficial study, as I have said, and also from an inverted vision. The glamour which surrounded the factory in the early days of its establishment in this country has led to very many erroneous conclusions. Some of us remember, and all of us have heard of, the Lowell factory girls and the intellectual standard which they attained. Then, looking to the present textile factory operatives in different parts of the country, the comparison becomes very sharp and the conclusion apparently decisive. In making this comparison, however, the real conditions of the factory in the early days at Lowell, when the factory girls edited their own literary magazine, which achieved high rank everywhere, are not clearly recognized. The then existing prejudice of England against the factory was well known here, and managers who built their factories in this country at that time were obliged, therefore, to offer attractive wages as well as attract-

ive environment, and by such offers they drew into Eastern factories the daughters of the New England farmers and a high grade of English girls.

In speaking and writing of this period I have often called attention to my own recollections, and such recollections are just those which have led to false conclusions. My first teacher was a weaver in the factories at Lowell, Biddeford, and Salem. She was a writer on the "Lowell Offering," the factory girls' publication, and a contemporary of Lucy Larcom and the other noble women who worked in the cotton mills of those days.

A change came over the industrial condition, however, and the American and English girls were forced out of the factory through economic influences, but they were not forced downward in the scale of life. They were crowded out, but up into higher callings. They became the wives of foremen and superintendents, teachers in the common schools, clerks in stores and counting-rooms, and they lost nothing whatever by their life and services in the factory. The lower grade of operatives that succeeded them brought the sharp comparison which led to the conclusion that the factory is degrading. The women who came in then were very largely Irish girls, fresh and raw immigrants, from the poorer and less developed localities of Ireland. Taking the places of the English and American girls in the Eastern factories, they soon began to improve their condition, and the result was that they in turn were crowded out by another nationality. But the Irish girl did not retrograde; she progressed, as had her predecessors, and enlisted in higher occupations. The daughters of the original Irish factory operatives and scrub-women who came to this country were no longer factory operatives and scrub-women. They were to be found standing behind the counters of our great retail shops, well-dressed, educated in our schools, bright, active, and industrious, and with a moral character equal to that of their predecessors.

The war period created the necessity of an increased number of factory operatives, and brought into our mills a great body of French-Canadian women. The opposition in the New England States to the presence of the French-Canadians was as

great as it ever had been against the coming of the Irish. The opposition to the Irish had ceased ; it was transferred to the French-Canadians, but I venture to say that there never has been a nationality coming into the United States that has shown such great progress in the same period of time as have the French-Canadians. They are now graduating from the factory, the Swedes, the Greeks, and others coming in, and the factory is performing the same civilizing operation for the new quotas that it has always performed for the others. It is reaching down and down to the lower strata of society and lifting them up to a higher standard of living.

Now we are in the presence of another experiment, or experience, rather, which teaches the soundness of the view I am trying to impress upon you, and that experience is in the South. When the American girls left the factories of New England foreigners took their places. The establishment of the textile factory in the South led to the employment of a body of native people, those born and bred in the South, popularly known as the poor whites, who up to the time of the erection of cotton factories had lived a precarious existence and always in antagonism to the colored people, looking upon work as rather degrading than otherwise, because of the peculiar institution of the South, and on the whole not constituting a very desirable element in Southern population. To-day these people are furnishing the textile factories of the Southern States with a class of operatives not surpassed in any part of the country. This is the testimony of the late Mr. Dingley in a speech in the House of Representatives. It is the testimony of English manufacturers who have carefully studied the conditions in the South, and the testimony from all sources is to the effect that the poor whites of the South are entering the cotton mills as an opportunity which had never before been open to them. They are becoming industrious and saving in their habits, and, coming to the factory towns, they bring their families, and they in turn are brought into an environment entirely different from that under which they were reared. They are now able to educate their children, to bring them up in a way which was never possible to them before, and thus the poor whites of the South are gradually, and with more or

less rapidity, becoming not only a desirable but a valuable element in Southern population, on which the integrity and prosperity of a great industry largely depend.

The experience in the South is simply that of other localities, whether in this country or in England. The factory means education, enlightenment, and an intellectual development utterly impossible without it,—I mean to a class of people who could not reach these things in any other way. It is an element in social life. By its educational influences it is constantly lifting the people from a lower to a higher grade.

When the textile factory was originally established in England it took into its employment the children of agricultural districts,—paupers, charity boys and girls. Much was said about the degradation of the factory children. Parliamentary investigations and reports bewailed the conditions found, but it was forgotten in every instance that the factory really lifted these children out of a condition far worse than that in which the parliamentary committee found them when employed in the factories. We have had no such conditions to contend with in this country, but we have this superficial idea with which to contend. The notion that the factory creates ignorance, vice, and low tendencies is absolutely false. It does bring together a large body of comparatively ignorant persons; it congregates these persons into one community, and hence the results of ignorance and of lower standards of life become clearly apparent because of the concentration. Before the concentration the ignorance existed precisely the same, but was diffused and hence not apparent.

There is a class of writers who are very fond of drawing comparisons between conditions under the factory system and those which existed prior to its establishment. They refer to the halcyon days of England, and call attention to the English operative working under hand methods as a happy, contented, well-fed, moral person. History teaches just the reverse. Prior to the establishment of the factory the working classes of England lived in hovels and mud-huts that would not be tolerated even in the worst coal-mining districts in this country or in England to-day. The factory graduated all these people from the mud-hut. But what was that old system?

Degrading, crime-breeding, and productive of intemperance in the worst form as compared with the factory of to-day.

We hear a great deal about the sweating system, and the popular idea is that the sweating system is the product of modern industrial conditions. The fact is that it is a remnant of the old industrial system. It is the old hand system prior to the establishment of the factory, and has been projected into our time. Once universal, the sweating system is now limited to one or two industries, and is gradually being eliminated through the very system which is sometimes condemned. Just as fast as the sweat-shops are developed into the factory and brought under the laws which relate to factory regulation, just so rapidly is the sweating system being eliminated. The only cure is to make of the sweat-shop the factory. The social life of sweaters can be improved only by lifting them to the grade of factory operatives.

We sometimes hear of the immorality of the factory operatives. I have no doubt that immorality exists among factory operatives, the same as it exists on Fifth Avenue and everywhere else on earth where men and women are found, but I do not believe that it exists in any greater proportion in the factory than in any other walk of life. On the other hand, I believe that immoral lives are less frequent among the factory population than among any other class in the community, and investigations, and extensive ones at that, in this country and abroad teach the truth of this assertion.

Some years ago it was my good fortune to look over some of the great thread works in Paisley, Scotland, and this very question of immorality was discussed with the foreman of one of the works. One gentleman, who had been connected with the Coates' factories for forty years, informed me that during that period he had known but one girl who had departed from a strictly honest life, and she, as soon as her habits were known, was ostracised by the coldness of her associates. This I found to be true in almost every factory I have ever visited. As soon as a girl loses her character her mates frown upon her, and she is fairly driven from the field. Women in cotton mills and in all other factories are as careful of their characters as is any other class. The charge that factory

breeds immorality among women is not true, and cannot be sustained by any facts that have ever been collected. This one condition constitutes the factory an important element in social life, for the women who are there and are working for low wages—lower than any of us would like to have paid, but which are governed according to economic conditions and law—are working honestly and faithfully and living honest and virtuous lives. It must be so. Women cannot work eight or ten or twelve or more hours in a cotton factory and live a dissolute life the rest of the day.

There is another supposition relative to the factory to which I wish to call attention, and which relates emphatically to the topic of this paper. It is that the factory has a dwarfing influence upon skill; that skill is degraded to common labor. This supposition also arises from a superficial examination of modern establishments wherein a cheap and often ignorant body of laborers is employed, the appearance being that skilled and intelligent workmen are replaced by unskilled and unintelligent workmen, and the conclusion being that the modern system forces the skilled and intelligent workman downward in the scale of civilization. This is not the true sociological conclusion, which is that the modern system of industry gives the skilled and intelligent workman an opportunity to rise in the scale of employment, in intellectual development, in educational acquirements, in the grade of services rendered, and hence his social standing in his community, while at the same time it enables what was an unskilled and unintelligent body of workers to be employed in such ways and under such conditions, and surrounded by such stimulating influences that they in turn become intelligent and skilled, and crowd upward into the positions formerly occupied by their predecessors, thus enabling them to secure the social standard which they desire. This conclusion, it seems to me, is the true one, and makes the discussion of the question whether the modern system of industry, the factory, really has a stimulating effect upon the intellectual growth of the people not only an interesting but a peculiarly appropriate one at all times.

The whole matter of the consideration of the workingman to-day, then, becomes intellectual. He is carried onward and

upward by the power of mental activity, and cannot be treated separately as one of a class, as he could in the olden time, because in the olden time he was neither a social nor a political factor. Changed conditions in all directions have brought mankind to a new epoch, the distinguishing feature of which is the factory itself, or machinery, which makes it. This we see is true when we comprehend that machinery is constantly lifting men out of low into high grades of employment, constantly surrounding them with an intellectual atmosphere, rather than keeping them degraded in the sweat-shop atmosphere of the olden time.

Of course, we all know that the condition of the worker is not the ideal one ; we all know that every employer who has the welfare of his race at heart, and who is guided by ethical as well as economic motives, would be glad to see his work-people receiving higher pay and living in better houses, living in an environment which should increase rather than diminish their social force. At the same time, we all recognize that the sanitary and hygienic condition of the factory is vastly superior to the sanitary and hygienic condition of the homes of the operatives in many cases. When the factory operative in his home reaches the same high grade that has been reached in the factory itself, his social force and life will be increased and his standard raised to a much higher plane. All these things are matters of development, but when we understand that manufacturers in this country are obliged constantly to deal with a heterogeneous mass, so far as nationality is concerned, while those in other countries deal with a homogeneous mass of operatives, the wonder is that here we have kept the standard so high as it has been. In considering all these aspects, as briefly as they have been touched upon, we cannot but feel, as I have indicated, that the factory reaches down and lifts up ; that it does not reach up and draw down those who have been raised to a higher standard. This is the real ethical mission of the factory everywhere.

Gentlemen in charge of factories are the managers of great missionary establishments. In their conduct of them as industrial institutions they must recognize economic laws and conditions. It would be suicidal to take the purely ethical view

at the expense of the economic, but while recognizing the economic conditions which compel certain actions, I believe there is no great difficulty in recognizing also the ethical relations which ought to exist between employer and employee. These ethical relations are becoming more and more a force in the conduct of industry. Whether the new developments of concentrated industrial interests will lead to a still higher recognition of the ethical forces at work is a question which cannot at present be answered. My own belief is that the future developments of industry will be on this line, and that the relation of the employer and his employees will rest upon a sounder basis than heretofore.

The social condition of the working man and his education, which we have insisted upon, have led him into the strike method as a means of asserting what he calls his rights. He has in this adopted the worst examples set him by his employers in the past. Greater intelligence, a broader recognition of the necessity of higher social standards, will lead to a recognition of other principles that will enable him to avoid industrial war and his employer to recognize the intelligence which is willing to avoid it.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ. By Charles F. Aiken, S. T. D., Instructor in Apologetics in the Catholic University of America. Boston: Marlier & Co., 1900. 8vo., pp. xvii, 348.

Few dissertations for the Doctorate in Theology make agreeable reading for the average run of educated readers. The subjects chosen are as a rule, too technical, too abstract, and too speculative to be of general interest. For this reason it is not so regrettable that the majority of them find a very limited sale. Their end is attained when the Doctor's degree is won, and they find their way, by an inevitable law, to the top shelves of the library.

To this rule the attractive volume before us forms a happy exception. In preparing the dissertation for the Doctorate, the author was evidently animated with the desire to produce a work of practical utility, one that would be largely read, and hence exercise a widespread influence for good. With this end in view, he has chosen for his subject-matter a topic both timely and interesting, namely, the relations of Christianity to Buddhism.

One of the most insidious attacks in our day against the supernatural claims of Christianity is that made by the admirers of Buddhism. Varied and persistent efforts have been made to show that the Gospels are largely impregnated with Buddhist traditions. Numerous parallelisms are drawn in the most reckless manner between the teachings of the Gospels and those of the sacred Buddhist books, with the implication that the latter are the originals, the former little more than servile copies. The Essenes and Therapists, whose mode of life offers striking analogies with that of Buddhist monks, are declared to have been the chief intermediaries between the followers of Buddha and the apostles of Christ. In this manner a specious and imposing argument is arrayed against the independent origin of the Gospels.

It is with a view of refuting this argument against Christianity as a supernatural religion, that Dr. Aiken has composed his dissertation. It is no exaggeration to say that he has accomplished his end in a very satisfactory manner.

The book is divided into three parts, treating respectively of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and the alleged relations of Buddhism with Christianity. Buddhism being a natural growth of Brahmanism, cannot be properly understood without at least an elementary acquaintance with the latter.

Accordingly, four chapters are devoted to an exposition of the striking features of Brahmanism; (1) Vedic and Brahman rites, (2) Social and Religious Institutions, (3) Rules of Conduct, (4) Pantheistic Speculations. Those who have despaired of making their way through the dull manuals devoted to this subject will be pleased to find the matter treated so clearly and interestingly in the first part of this volume.

The second part, which treats of Buddhism, is even more readable. Five succinct chapters offer a very comprehensive account of this remarkable religion: (1) The Founder, Buddha, (2) The Law, Dhamma, (3) The Buddhist Order, Saugha, (4) The History of Buddhism, (5) The Buddhist Sacred Books. In this interesting exposition of Buddhism, the author has embodied the very latest results of Indian archaeological research, and has shown considerable independence of treatment.

The third part, comprising more than half the volume, is devoted to the critical inquiry into the alleged relations of Buddhism with primitive Christianity. Having given, in the opening chapter, a critical survey of the chief works written to show the presence of Buddhist thought in the Gospels, the author proceeds to lay bare the specious and misleading character of the great majority of the parallelisms drawn between Buddhism and Christianity. This spurious evidence he classes under three heads, forming the subject-matter of as many chapters,—Exaggerated Resemblances, Anachronisms, and Fictions. The few remaining parallels offering legitimate ground for comparison he easily disposes of in the following chapter, which contains an excellent exposition of the truth, too often lost sight of, that resemblances in different religions are not infrequently of quite independent origin. Chapter VII is devoted to a scholarly refutation of the proofs commonly brought forward to show that Buddhism had gained a foothold in the Greek speaking world in the two centuries preceding the birth of Christ. In the next chapter, an interesting account is given of the early spread of Christianity over the far East, thus setting forth the possibility, if not the probability, that Buddhism itself was affected by Christian thought in the first few centuries of the Christian era. The last chapter is a very effective essay on the superiority of the religion of Christ to that of Buddha.

A very extensive bibliography, neatly classified, and a useful index form the closing pages of this interesting volume. Such is, in brief, the outline of Dr. Aiken's work. Add to this its chaste, flowing diction, the breadth of view and sympathy of tone that characterise his treatment of Buddhism, the wide range of literature, with which he acquaints the reader, the valuable foot-notes occurring on almost every page, and it becomes manifest that the author has given to the public a literary

and scholarly work of a high order of merit. It is a pleasure, too, to note that the material make-up of the book is worthy of its contents. The strong, clear paper, the beautiful type, and tasteful binding stamp it as a model of artistic book-making. We recommend it as a valuable contribution to Catholic Apologetic literature.

C. P. G.

The Five Theological Orations of Saint Gregory Nazianzenus.

Edited for the Syndics of the University Press, by Arthur James Mason, D. D., Cambridge, at the University Press, 1899.

The preparatory note to this book explains not only its object but its wider purpose: "The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have arranged for the issue of a series of Patristic Texts for Theological Students, of which the present volume is the first instalment. Other volumes are in course of preparation. The series will include not only complete treatises, but also parts of larger works, which will be treated as complete in themselves, and selections of letters and sermons. The object is to give to Theological Students the same kind of assistance in reading Patristic works, which is so abundantly given to students of the Classical authors. Regard will be had to the needs of those who have not many books of reference at hand." (P. v.)

The editor claims also that this book is the first separate edition of the five Theological Orations, which, as is generally admitted, were delivered while St. Gregory was Patriarch of Constantinople (379-381). The first four are against Eunomius, a Cappadocian, like the "Theologian" himself; the fifth is on the Holy Ghost. Hence St. Jerome writing of them describes them as two books. "*Adversus Eunomium liber unus; de Spiritu Sancto liber unus.*"

Eunomius, pupil and secretary of Aetius, so developed and systematized his master's vagaries that the sect took its name from its scholar rather than from its founder, from whom, however, according to Newman, he inherited two peculiarities: the first, "a faculty of subtle disputation and hard mathematical reasoning; the second, a fierce, and in one sense honest, disdain of compromise and dissimulation."

At Alexandria, Eunomius sat at the feet of Aetius, afterwards went with him to Antioch and thence was soon moved to Constantinople by the Arian party to help them out in their troubles with the Semi-Arians. On his way Eunomius was seized in Asia Minor by the order of the Emperor Constantius, and banished to Phrygia.

Shortly after this, in 359, Eudoxius, called by Baronius "the worst of all the Arians", and by Cardinal Newman, "the Arianizer of the Gothic Tribes", was named Patriarch of Constantinople. Soon he brought Eunomius to the Imperial City and later on consecrated him bishop of

Cyzicus. Throwing off the mask the new bishop showed himself in his true colors and was denounced by the people to the Emperor, who had Endoxius summon him before a council of bishops in Constantinople. Acting on secret advice from the Patriarch, Eunomius fled. Under Julian the Apostate, he settled in Constantinople, and there made his heresies popular. From 364-379 he led a chequered career. In 379 came St. Gregory to the Imperial City, where, in a private dwelling, he began his "Anastasia" of the Catholic Faith. In this humble house were delivered probably these five Orations.

Eunomianism, a cold, hard-and-fast system, which had text-books for beginners and regular methods of instruction, taught what may be expressed in a word: "absolute unlikeness of the Son to the Father" (*ánóμωτος*). Eunomius and his adherents prided themselves on the strictly logical method of their teaching. Nothing was allowed to be taken for granted, nothing accepted on faith. They taught that God, as being absolutely simple, must be comprehensible to the human intellect. Everything of a mysterious nature disappeared from their system. They were unwilling to use any language about God which conveyed its meaning after a symbolical or metaphorical manner. Their arguments implied that such terms as "Generation," if applicable at all to Him, must be held to connote that all the circumstances of generation, as known to the created world, have their counterpart in the divine life also." (Introduction, p. xi.)

St. Gregory said of them that every market-place resounded with their words and every dinner party was spoiled by their ill-bred talkativeness.

His four orations against them are classed among the masterpieces of oratory. Briefly, then, in the first, St. Gregory reproves the contentiousness so widespread in his time; explains the preparedness and spirit needed by speaker and hearers in order that religion may be rightly handled and duly appreciated, and warns the people against dragging out Christianity before heathen contempt. In his second, he shows how the nature of God surpasses the natural ken of man. The third he devotes to the majesty of the Most Blessed Trinity. In the fourth, he handles the texts used by the Arians, explains them one by one, and closes with a discussion of the names by which God is described in Sacred Scripture.

The last oration is on the Holy Ghost. It is in the main a defence of the divinity of the Third Person of the Godhead, against the errors of the Macedonians. The obscurity of Sacred Scripture is explained, while the growth of the revelation is shown most clearly. Lallemand in his "Scriptural Doctrine," says of St. Gregory Nazianzen, that he is the only one of the Fathers whose works are free from errors condemned by the Church.

Such purity of doctrine in St. Gregory this saintly Jesuit ascribes to the fact that "for eleven or twelve years he read nothing but Scripture."

Dr. Mason in his introduction to this work points out a number of passages—two in the third and ten in the fourth oration—which, he claims, indicate a want of clearness in Gregory's conception of the one person of Christ in the two natures, divine and human. But this conclusion is sufficiently answered by the concluding words of Dr. Mason in the same paragraph: "Gregory lived before the rise of the Nestorian heresy," which led the Church not so much (in the editor's words) "to arrive at a more conscious and definite belief with regard to the unity of Christ's person," but rather to a clearer and more precise expression of the theological formulae. As *εὐνοίας* was the slogan which marked the Arians, so *ἐνωσις* and *θεωτότης* cleared the air against the Nestorians.

The following conclusion of Dr. Mason seems hard and uncalled for, but should be noted: "The scholarship of the only English translation with which I am acquainted in the 'Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers' (edd. Wace and Schaff) is unfortunately far below the level of that of Cyril in the same volume, and the student will do well to avoid a work which is only misleading" (p. xxiii).

The text of this separate edition of the five Theological Orations is not claimed as perfect, although based on the best printed editions. The arrangement is excellent. At the top of the page is printed the text; underneath are the variant readings, and lastly foot-notes. Three indices are given; the first of the subject-matter, the second of Scripture texts, and the last of Greek words. This edition is for research work by theological students, and hence presupposes a knowledge of the Attic tongue. Likewise, the foot-notes elucidate the meaning of the text and pass over grammatical difficulties. Dr. Mason deserves every encouragement.

S. R. J.

Conferences on the Life of Grace. By Fr. Raphael Moss, O. P. Benziger Bros.: New York, 1900, 12°, pp. 146.

This little volume embodies the Oxford Conferences, Hilary term, 1900. The topics discussed are Faith, Prayer, Confession, Communion, Holy Mass, Purgatory, Hell, and Heaven in their respective relations to the life of divine Grace. The treatment is familiar rather than academic, and the author employs considerable imagery to carry his thoughts vividly into the minds of his readers. Current attitudes of mind hostile, either wholly or in part, to Christian doctrine, do not fail of serious consideration in passing. The author's endeavor to set forth his subject organically should not be without fruitful suggestions for a series of parish conferences which workers in the ministry might profitably con-

duct along similar lines. To preach any doctrine of the Catholic Faith without indicating, at least its harmonious setting in the scheme of salvation, is to strip it of that close communion which exists between different truths as between different individuals, and to force it into an abstract isolation that is foreign to its proper understanding on the part of the hearers. Solidarity is a characteristic of Catholic truth as of Catholic practice.

In reconciling the use of prayer with the unchangeableness of the divine will (p. 32), the author weakens his point by the use of the phrase "predetermine." He says: "In order to see this clearly, we must remind ourselves that the eternal Providence of God not only determines beforehand the various things that are to take place, but it also predetermines and prearranges their various causes and mutual relations." The word which St. Thomas employs in the text thus rendered is "*disponere*," which has none of those false associations evoked in the popular mind, even by the idea of determination itself, without the prefix the author adds to it. Devotion to the tenets of a particular school of interpreters should not lead us into solving one difficulty by creating another, nor into the retention of a phrase whose technical meaning cannot fail to be lost on the uninitiated.

E. T. S.

Bibliothèque Sulpicienne, ou Histoire Littéraire de la Compagnie de St. Sulpice, par L. Bertrand, Bibliothécaire au Grand Séminaire de Bordeaux. Paris: Picard, 8°, 1900, pp. xxiii + 536, 612, 484.

This important work has been put on the market without "*fracas*" or "*réclame*," and, we understand, in a very small edition. A certain antique "*pietas*," customary in Catholic religious communities, has, in turn, moved M. Bertrand to endow the "*petite compagnie*" with an account of the literary labors of its deceased priests. The small membership of Saint Sulpice (from 1648 to 1790 it had received only 720 priests, and at present counts only about 430), precludes the possibility of a very extensive "library" of writings. Not many in-folios weigh down the shelves of the Sulpician writers,—their works are mostly small octavos and duodecimos. Moreover, the character of their teaching—an elementary but solid and accurate formation in the principal ecclesiastical sciences like doctrinal and moral theology, canon law, church history and liturgy—forbade, in the past, any special and absorbing devotion to research or peculiar erudition. The genuine Sulpician, mindful of the original history of his community, is usually deeply concerned with the moral training of his students, the correction of unpriestly defects, tendencies or habits, the formation of a heart that can withstand

temptation and trial and be faithful unto death, in prosperity as in adversity, in the highest as in the lowest place of the clerical ministry. His time is nearly all absorbed in a round of humble daily duties of class, confessional, direction. He is the "soul-friend" of the young theologian from the day he crosses the threshold of the seminary. Men and not paper are the materials on which he writes, when he is most devoted to the native purpose of his calling. So it comes about that the literary work of the Sulpicians is mostly of a pious and ascetic character, rather a commentary on the gospel, the pastoral epistles and the Imitation of Christ. Out of the old mediæval monasticism something very lovely and "Bernardine," drifted at an early date into Saint Sulpice,—the cultus of the inner life, of the "*ama nesciri*," of a mystic fondness for Jesus, Priest and Healer; for Mary, the mother of humility and purity, the first priestly minister at the Altar of Jesus. We need not wonder, then, that their literary history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reads like a supplement to the "Dictionary of Anonymous Writers." They seldom signed their books, or only with the words, "By a Priest of the Clergy," or "by a Seminary-Director." They have never forgotten the words of Fénelon to M. Leschassier: "If the taste for literary brilliancy and a love of pompous knowledge were ever brought into Saint Sulpice, there would be an end of the work of M. Olier and M. Tronson." Thus, Victor Cousin could write of them: "*Si Port-Royal est plus grand, si l'Oratoire est plus instruit, Saint Sulpice est plus sage.*"

Withal, the "Company" has had many illustrious scholars. Among those who read these lines not a few will recall, some one, some another priestly teacher, whose science was as varied as it was deep, and who first opened to mind and heart the secrets of learning, which they have always treated with a Solomonian reverence. In Laurent Josse LeClerc (1677-1736), they had a man at once savant, "*articolista*," critic, patrologist, historian, theologian, canonist,—a man of the widest sympathies. One of the "*curiosa*" in the work of M. Bertrand is the description of LeClerc's manuscript work "*On Literary Plagiarism*" in 2464 pages of small folio. It was thought to be lost but has been lately found, and is now kept at Saint Sulpice of Paris, (I. 257-276). The pages of this work show many men of that type in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, even if their printed works were not so numerous nor covered so wide a range. Among the Sulpician writers of the present century the names of Emery, Gosselin, Faillon, Hamon, Carrière, Le Hir, Frédet, have a familiar ring, at least to the Catholic students of ecclesiastical science. Other sciences have been cultivated, often with success, in Saint Sulpice, but their furthering lies outside of the very grave scope of the "Company."

In these three volumes appear the names of about four hundred writers. For the present century the material has been gathered from the official necrologies issued at Paris; for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the laborious collections of Gosselin (1785-1858) and Gamon (1813-1886) have been used. The chronological order has been followed, and the work in general is modelled on the "*Histoire Litteraire de la France*" of the Benedictines Tassin and Piolin. The biographies of the Sulpician writers are written with much literary skill; there is a certain "Gaulois" archness and "malice" in the remark of M. Bertrand that the reader has before him, "*l'histoire littéraire d'une compagnie peu lettrée par un homme qui ne l'est pas du tout.*" It recalls a certain humor, sharp and strong, that has never been wanting in Saint Sulpice, drawn as it is very often from the rich "terroir" of France, and sheltering in unbroken continuity, as perhaps no other existing association of Frenchmen, phases and survivals of the popular soul of seventeenth-century France.

Among the writers described by M. Bertrand we note with pleasure the names of several Sulpicians who have been ornaments of the hierarchy in the New World: Bruté of Vincennes, Dubois of New York, Dosquet of Quebec, Lartigue of Montreal, Phelan of Kingston, Eccleston of Baltimore, Vérot of St. Augustine, and O'Farrell of Trenton. Not less interesting in the light of recent misstatements is the list of 120 doctors of Sorbonne to the credit of Saint Sulpice. What that meant in the last century may be learned from the study of the conditions then requisite for the degree of doctor of theology.¹

M. Bertrand has done well to reprint (III, pp. 367-448) the contemporary memoir of M. Baudrand, Curé of Saint Sulpice, on the life of M. Olier and the seminary of his foundation. With the lives of M. Olier and M. Tronson in the first volume it is the basis of the pedagogical history of the community.

In the history of the Counter-Reformation Saint Sulpice will always hold a place of honor as a principal factor in the betterment of Catholic life. The revolution of the sixteenth century was chiefly owing to the defection of the clergy, guilty of ignorance, worldliness, and apathy. It was this spring of evil, the unsuitable education of the clergy, that M. Olier undertook to cleanse and to put in its place a fountain of virtue and useful Catholic science:

¹ For this interesting point cf. Elle Méric, "*Le Clergé sous l'ancien régime*, Paris, 1890; E. Pagés, "*Notices sur les études qu'il fallait faire anciennement dans la Faculté de Théologie de Paris, pour arriver au doctorat*," Lyon, 1836; "*Mémoires de l'abbé Baston*," Paris, 1897.

Di lui si fecer poi diversi rivi,
 Onde l'orto cattolico si riga,
 Si che i snoi arbnscelli stan più vivi.

Parad. XII, 103-105.

There is a strenuous life outside of the province of letters; its functions were clearer and simpler in the past than in our own "siècle papé-rassier." Among its real heroes are the children of M. Olier—their names are written large on the Golden Book of the Chnrch, where it is question of missions, martyrdom, toilsome and humble pedagogy, lonesome and depressing pastoration. Occasionally, one of them, like a M. Emery, moves across the higher plane of public life. Then it is felt by all, as long ago by Fénelon, that something exquisitely apostolic and exemplary has appeared. It is not often that the chance offers to express the feelings of gratitude that the disciples of these men, as we learn more of life and its meanings, almost invariably bear for them. They are, indeed, no "Stubengelehrten," but men of action, on a narrow but very high and holy level. It would surely offend the modesty of the living to mention any one by name, likewise the sense of justice, where all work in brotherly equality. But it cannot be wrong to indulge the heart in a formal expression of respect for the "Company" that has been for so long a distinguished educator of the Catholic clergy in France, Canada, and the United States. The writer feels that he speaks out of the hearts of thousands of priests when he rejoices with Saint Sulpice, not only at this small evidence of the virtue and learning of his teachers, but more especially at the benedictions which the Holy Spirit has showered on every field watered by their toil, their sweat, and their blood.

T. J. S.

Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Americae Latinae in Urbe
 Celebrati 1899. Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1900. 2 vols., 8°,
 pp. 462, 779.

The holding of this Council of Rome, at so great a distance from the sees of the bishops in attendance, excited considerable interest. It appears from the records that the prelates were asked to choose between Rome and some American city as the place for the council, and that the great majority preferred Rome: the reasons for their preference being a desire to signify in a special way their devotion to the Holy See, and also a wish to consult the convenience of many bishops for whom a journey to Rome would be less onerous than to any American city where the assembly might possibly be convoked.

Once the determination was reached to meet in the Eternal City, it became necessary to limit in some way the number of bishops in attend-

ance. All could not leave their dioceses and deprive a vast territory of the direction of its episcopacy during a long interval. Consequently it was decided to invite all archbishops, but to limit the representation of the bishops from each province to one or two delegates, to be named by the Metropolitan and suffragans. This limitation did not, however, prevent a good attendance, since we find present thirteen archbishops and forty bishops from eighteen different republics.

A special feature of the preliminary arrangements, was the rule made in reference to the right to preside over the deliberations of the council. No one enjoyed the right of permanent presidency as delegate of the Pope, but there was a distribution of honors. At each business session an archbishop was chosen as apostolic delegate for the time being, relinquishing the place to another at the next assembly. In all public, solemn reunions a cardinal acted as honorary president.

It cannot be denied that certain advantages were secured by convening at Rome. So close a relation with the very center of doctrine and discipline, the consultation and assistance of some of the most distinguished canonists of modern times, were an assurance that the *Acta* would be deficient neither in matter nor in form, and that the spirit of the Church in reference to the matters discussed would be manifested with clearness and exactness. There was no possibility of any repetition of those circumstances which had prevented the IVth Council of Lima and the IVth Council of Mexico from going into effect. Among the consultors are found such names as Mansella, Llevaneras, Pierantoni, Wernz and Bucceroni.

The *Acta* proper are contained in one volume, the first; the second being devoted to a collection of papal letters, congregational decisions and other legal enactments which have been quoted or referred to in the decrees. This collection of documents has a special value for the student, who finds there in small compass a number of those decrees and encyclicals to which moral theologians and canonists are continually appealing.

The decrees of the council, contained in the first volume, are admirably arranged. It would be difficult, in fact, to find a clearer exposition, in so compendious a form, of the existing discipline of the Church. The text might very aptly serve as the basis for a course in the Institutes of Canon Law; and few works on the Institutes exhibit the method, clearness, and simplicity which characterize every chapter of these decrees. As is to be expected, the declarations of the council consist generally in a plain and forcible statement of the common law, but with its most recent modifications and practical applications to existing conditions in Mexico and South and Central America.

Some of the conciliary provisions, giving us an insight into the life of the Latin-American Church, may surprise one who expects to find all the details of ordinary ecclesiastical government fully carried out in countries where the Church had been so long established. For there are certain chapters, e. g., "*De Sacris Missionibus apud Infideles*," and that which speaks of consultors, which show that the period of formation has not ended in certain districts. Many decrees are very similar to some found in our own councils, e. g., with regard to schools, the examination of the junior clergy, retreats, conferences, and missions.

Perhaps the two most interesting titles are those devoted to education and Christian doctrine. The former, Title IX, goes at length into the matter of education, primary and secondary, insisting upon the greatest vigilance and care in all matters relating to the parish school, the college, the seminary, and the university. So vital to the Church is this matter believed to be that normal schools are to be established for the training of teachers, and no one is to be allowed to teach without having given special proof of competency. This competency is to be determined in an examination conducted according to rules laid down by the bishop of each diocese, who awards to the successful candidate a diploma. This diploma, however, does not imply a perpetual approbation for teaching, but is limited in effect to a longer or shorter period. Inspectors of schools are to be appointed also, not merely for each diocese, but for the various districts of the diocese. The higher education of women in institutions conducted by Catholic lay women or by nuns is distinctly commended and encouraged, and at the same time the council strictly forbids their attendance at non-catholic institutions.

Title X, *De Doctrina Christiana*, deals with preaching, catechetical instruction, necessity of missions, prayer-books, forbidden books, Catholic newspapers, Catholic writers, censors of books, and is replete with suggestions of means to promote and protect the truth. That the bishops were not content with mere generalization may be gathered from their express wish that bookstores be established in the large parishes for the sale of good literature at a reasonable price; from their encouragement given to meetings of the people for literary advancement, in a manner similar to that of our reading circles; and from the exhortation addressed to every bishop to have in his diocese at least one newspaper Catholic in spirit if not in name. Title VIII, *De Vita et Honestate Clericorum*, will be a disappointment to those who imagined that the Church would depart from her time-honored discipline in reference to the celibacy of the clergy.

Although the council was ordered to be promulgated immediately after it had been recognized by the Holy See, a special enactment was made that on the expiration of one year from the date of solemn promul-

gation it would be binding on all the churches of Latin America. In the archives of every diocese, parish, and public church a copy of the *Acta* must be kept and shown to the bishop on the occasion of his pastoral visitation.

The attention to practical methods and the incorporation of the very latest decisions give to these decrees of the Latin Council a very great value. Simply to restate general provisions of common law without any regard for practical and sometimes extraordinary conditions is an easy matter, and contributes but little to a fuller elucidation of any text; but when the interpreter brings the law face to face with an unusual situation and expresses clearly and firmly the possibility and extent and method of reconciling the two, he has added to the sum of legal knowledge. In more than one instance this attention to practice and reality in the present *Acta* will help the student in forming opinions on allied matters. We have, therefore, in the "*Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Americae Latinae*" a model of brief and clear exposition of doctrine; a help to the student; a work which will be read eagerly by those who desire to acquaint themselves with so recent an expression of the Church's disciplinary spirit. The type, paper, and binding are exceptionally good, and the very moderate price of the volumes should help to make them widely known.

J. T. C.

Psychology: Empirical and Rational, by Michael Maher, S. J. Fourth edition. Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York and Bombay, 1900; pp. xvi + 602 + xii.

In this new edition, Father Maher's work passes, in size, the limit of the manual and becomes a complete treatise on the human mind. The enlargement, however, is justified by the author's desire to give the Scholastic doctrine greater actuality and to discuss modern methods, theories, and tendencies. The fact, also, that he brings within the scope of psychology problems which are now generally turned over to epistemology and to the philosophy of mind, will account for several chapters which help to swell the volume. Abundant references to the newer literature of the subject show that the author is in touch with the various movements which make up the growth of the science.

His attitude toward experimental psychology is interesting. Criticising the line of investigation known as psycho-physics, he says, "it is only a small part, and that the lowest and most unimportant part, of mental life that can be at all approached by the instruments of this science. Emotions, volitions, and all intellectual processes are obviously beyond the reach of any form of quantitative measurement. Even, then, if psycho-physics had attained the utmost hopes of its supporters,

and if—what appears equally unlikely—these supporters became agreed as to their results, our knowledge of mental life would not really be thereby much advanced.” (P. 57.)

It is, of course, difficult to fix the meaning of “much” when there is question of advance in knowledge: experimental psychology, at any rate, has not attempted to measure this quantity. Still, what seems but a slight advance has often far-reaching effects in furnishing new points of view and new methods for the study of the mind. The sensuous life may be the most unimportant part of our mental life; but it takes up 186 pages of Father Maher’s book, while rational psychology fits into 119 pages. It is safer to omit the word “unimportant” when speaking of processes in the human mind.

Father Maher himself refers to “discriminative sensibility,” and gives the quantitative results which have been obtained for the different senses by psycho-physical measurement. Yet he would be the last to assert that discrimination is an unimportant part of mental life, for he treats it as an intellectual process. Attention and the cognition of time he considers as parts of our rational life; and he is certainly aware that these activities have been studied with profit by the psycho-physical methods.

No one pretends that all mental processes are equally accessible to experiment; nor is quantitative measurement an end unto itself. Psycho-physical determinations are of value, not because they give us columns of figures and curves, but because they reveal connections and influences which would otherwise escape our notice. Their chief purpose is to get more exact knowledge of the relation between mental processes and organic processes. How Scholastic philosophy can afford to be indifferent or antagonistic to facts thus discovered, or even to an attempt at such discovery, is not easy to understand. If all such efforts toward accurate knowledge are to be set aside on the ground that investigators do not agree, sciences much older than experimental psychology would shrink to comparatively small compass. Father Maher’s own trenchant criticisms of various theories show that there is not absolute unanimity even among those who get on in their psychology without experiment or other psycho-physical method. Fortunately, Father Maher did not wait for these psychologists to become “agreed as to their results.” By a careful sifting of current theories he has rendered important service to the science and has shown the solidity of Scholastic psychology. The calmness and courtesy that mark his appreciations will secure a welcome for his book. Its clearness and orderly arrangement, with which the excellent press-work is in keeping, must add to the pleasure which the serious reader will derive from its contents.

E. A. P.

Ouvriers du Temps Passé, by H. Hauser. Alcan, Paris, 1899.
8°, pp. xxxviii + 252.

This work aims at representing the conditions of the laboring classes in France between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The chief sources employed are records of corporations, statutes, regulations, nearly all of which are found in the National Archives of France. Subject to the limitations which the author placed upon himself, the work is objective and as comprehensive as it could be. He would have been more just to himself had he professed to publish what he found in the sources used, instead of calling his work "*Ouvriers du Temps Passé (xv^e et xvi^e siècles)*." Many readers will question the author's wisdom in confining his researches to such narrow limits. On account of the restrictions to which he subjected himself, the results of the work are hardly as new or extensive as the author claims them to be.

The introduction is long and, it would seem, unnecessary. In it the author discusses subject, sources, method and results of the study. Since they include nothing distinctive, nothing which might not have been stated in a few lines, the attention given to them formally in the introduction is hardly justified. Chapter V is on "The Organization of Labor," although it treats of the hours of labor, night work, idleness, and workshop regulations. Current usage gives the phrase an entirely different meaning.

The author is objective and methodical, however, in the work which he has done, viz., in describing the conditions of labor in France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as found in the sources which he used. Since the work deals very largely with the ordinary phases of mediæval labor organization and social conditions, a detailed reference to its content seems unnecessary.

W. J. K.

The World's Best Orations. Edited by Justice David D. Brewer. St. Louis: Ferd. P. Kaiser. Large 8°. 1900.

There can be no question as to the supreme fitness of Judge Brewer to fulfill the task of making this exhaustive compilation, assisted, too, by a very brilliant and erudite committee. But if anybody doubted the resources and taste of the publisher, Mr. Kaiser,—who was comparatively unknown in this line,—the arrangement and appearance of these ten volumes have put such doubts at rest. Justice Brewer's "Best Orations" is a most valuable book, and the young lawyer, the student, the preacher who is fortunate enough to have it in his library is to be warmly congratulated. Sir Charles Dilke's careful insight is evident in certain of the selections from England's orators, and Prof. Alcée Fortier has, we

are sure, enabled us to enjoy an excellent translation of the Vicomte de Châteaubriand's "Has One Government a Right to Interfere in the Internal Affairs of Another?" We shall return to this admirable compilation.

Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi nunc primum edidit, latine reddidit et illustravit, Ignatius Ephraem II, Rahmani, Patriarcha Antiocheus Syrorum. Mainz, Fr. Kirchheim, 1899, lii+231 pp., Marks 25.

This document represents the first two books of an apocryphal compilation of ecclesiastical canons or church regulations under the title of "*Διατάξεις* Apostolorum," of which extracts were published in 1856 by P. de Lagarde,¹ who, to avoid confusion with the "Constitutions of the Apostles," another apocryphal compilation of the same kind, called it the "Octateuchus."

It was reserved for the eminent author of this book to discover in the library of the Catholic Patriarchate of the Syrians, at Mossoul, a first complete copy of that work, and later a second one in a Syriac manuscript of the Borgian Museum in Rome. Both copies are relatively recent, the Mossoul manuscript being dated A. D. 1694, and the Borgian manuscript A. D. 1564. A note in the former informs us that the text of the first two books was translated in A. G. 998=A. D. 687, from the Greek by the "humble James."² The first two books, in the Syriac manuscript go under the title of First and Second Book of St. Clement. In addition, however, they bear collectively the more specific name of "Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ." We find them under this title, and independently of the rest of the compilation, in an Arabic version preserved in a manuscript of the Borgian Museum, dated A. D. 1348. A colophon states that this version was made from the Coptic by a certain Abū Ishāq bu al-Fadhl Allāh,³ from a manuscript dated A. D. 927. Fragments of a Latin version are to be found in a manuscript of the eighth century, in Treves, (No. 36.)

The contents of the document are briefly as follows: Book I, Chap. 1-14.—About Antichrist and the end of the world; 15-18 about the regulations contained in the Testament, in general; 19, arrangement of

¹In his "*Reliquiae juris ecclesiastici antiquissimi Syriaci*, from MS., Syr., 62 (— St. Germain, 38), of the Bibl. Nat., Paris; dated ninth century, See Zotenberg, Cat., p. 22.

²From a note in the Paris MS. it appears that the whole compilation was translated in A. D. 687. Mgr. Rahmani thinks that the "humble James" is no less than the famous James of Edessa.

³The famous Abū Ishāq bn al-'Assāl. (?) I think that another copy of that Arabic version is to be found in a manuscript of the Bibl. Nat. in Paris. Cod. Ar., 251, 29°

the Church; 20-22, election, duties, consecration of the bishop; 23-28, the liturgy; 29-33, about the priests; 34-38, deacons; 39, confessors; 40-43, widows; 44-48, sub-deacons, lectors, virgins, and those having the charismata.—Book II. Ch. 1-5, about the catechumens; 6-7, about the elect; 8-10, about baptism; 11-12, Easter and Paschal time; 13-17, about agapæ, first-fruits, alms, blessing of fruits, banquets; 18-20, about Easter again; 21-24, about the sick, psalmody, burial of the poor and of the strangers, the hours of prayer; 25-27, about the Testament being observed and promulgated to all nations. Conclusion.

This document bears a great resemblance to the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, also to the second book of the Ecclesiastical Canons, and the so-called Canons of Hippolytus, all three of which have been much discussed with regard to the question of priority, the fact that they are related to one another being admitted by all. Dr Funk¹ grants their priority to the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions. Dr Achelis² to the Canons of Hippolytus, while Kleinert³ supposes the existence of a more ancient recension of the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, from which the Ecclesiastical Canons descended. Mgr. Rahmani thinks the Testament settles the question. The eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions was taken from the second book of the Ecclesiastical Canons, which, in its turn, is a compendium of the Testament. The document was written in the second century, possibly in Syria. Such, at least, is the conclusion at which Mgr. Rahmani arrives in his prolegomena. The Syriac text is accompanied by a Latin translation on the opposite page. The editor gives the variant readings from the Borgian and Paris MSS. with, here and there, an allusion to the Arabic version which he rarely quotes in Latin translation, never in the original. Seven short dissertations on the chief points with which our document is concerned bring the book to a close.

The great importance of the document published by Mgr. Rahmani is too evident to be insisted upon; and we need not say, either, that, in a way, the author has successfully carried out his delicate and difficult undertaking; at any rate the lovers of early Christian history will ever be thankful to him for having so promptly satisfied their wishes in placing within their reach a most interesting document, written in a language accessible to so few of them. A translation, indeed, never takes the place of a text; but when we must be satisfied with a translation, there is much comfort in knowing that it is a good and reliable one. Such is the case with Mgr. Rahmani's present work. We are glad to say for the benefit of such as might not be acquainted with the author, that

¹ Die Apostolischen Konstitutionen, 1891.

² Die Canones Hippolyti, Leipzig, 1891.

³ Bemerkungen Zur Composition der Clementinischen Liturgie, in "Theologischen Studien, und Kritiken."

in its main lines his translation is excellent. No doubt a slip of the pen can easily be detected here and there, but, as a rule, not to the extent of leading the reader into error or misconception. In some places, however, the rendering is apt to obscure or even to distort the import of the text, although we readily admit this is generally owing to the bad condition of the latter or to the obscurity resulting from the Syriac text, being itself a translation from the Greek. Here are a few of the points which have seemed to us specially in need of elucidation. Page 92, (Book I, ch. xxxix.): "Qui testimonium et confessionem emittit se fuisse in vinculis," etc. The text would be rendered more intelligibly thus: "Si martyr et confessor (est) qui fuit in vinculis." The emendation I propose is suggested by philological common sense, and by the *Canones Ecclesiastici* as well, where in the corresponding passage we find: "Martyr et confessor si fuerit in vinculis," etc. In the next sentence: "Cum per confessionem a manu Dei protectus fuerit." It would have been much clearer and more correct to say: "Quia per confessionem manu Dei tectus fuit (ideoque non tegi debet manu hominum)."

Page 95 (ch. xl, De Viduis): "Ordinetur in viduam illa, quae eligitur, quae scilicet diuturno tempore," etc. Better: "Vidua ordinetur *quae electa fuerit*, si porro diuturno tempore," etc. (Cf. I. Tim. v. 9-10.)

Page 97 (same chapter) "Quapropter illa eligatur quae possit obviam ire phialis sanctis. Ex illis autem sunt duodecim presbyteri qui laudant Patrem meum in caelis, qui suscipiunt orationes cujusvis animae purae et offerunt Excelso odorem suavem." We agree with the author that the text is rather obscure and certainly incorrect. But we do not see the necessity of rendering "turmis sanctis" instead of "phialis sanctis," as if the Syriac translation had mistaken *φιαλη* for *φυλη*. This passage is a clear allusion to the twenty-four Elders (Apoc., v. 8) with the harps and the golden vials "full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints." I would propose to translate as follows: "Quae possit obviam ire phialis sanctis (easque ut suas accipere) ex illis duodecim (!) senioribus qui laudant," etc. It would have been interesting to have here the wording of the Arabic version. Mgr. Rahmani is satisfied with saying that "etiam in versione copto-arab. hic locus obscurus est."

Pages 131-133 (Book II, ch. x.): . . . "Calix vero miscetur vino cum aqua mixto ad significandum sanguinem et aquam lavacri ut et homo interior qui spiritualis est, mereatur ea, quae sunt similia, quemadmodum et corpus." More accurate and more intelligible: . . . "Calix vero miscetur vino; misceatur autem vino et aqua: est enim signum sanguinis et lavacri, quasi, et homo interior, ille nempe qui spiritualis est ea mereatur quae sunt similia, illis scilicet quae et corpus (habet)."¹ Ibid. a few

¹ Or, in a free translation: "Let the wine be prepared in the chalice: and it must be mixed with water, for it is the sign of Redemption and Baptism which are hereby taught to be as necessary to our souls as wine and water are to our bodies."

lines below: "Diaconi circumvolitent (flabellas?)." What Mgr. Rahmani expresses here with laudable hesitation becomes a certainty for him later on (pp. 162, 180). If this passage contains really an allusion to the fans that used to be kept moving over the *oblata*, "agitant" would be a great deal better than "circumvolitent." But while that allusion is a possibility, it seems more probable that the verb "Rahef" has here the sense of "imposuit manus," namely "super caput," which it not unfrequently has in the Syriac liturgy (see Brun. "Diction. Syr.-Lat." sub voce). We know from the works of Aphraates that it was an ancient custom for the communicant to place the bread on his head before taking it. We might suppose it was later the office of the deacon to perform himself that part of the ritual on the faithful. In our own liturgy the priest signs the communicant with the host before placing it on the tongue (see Aphraates, Demonstr. VII. 21, XX. 8; cf. Butler, The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, II, p. 292). It would be more than simply interesting to know how this passage reads in the Arabic version.

Page 135 (ch. x.), "Feria quinta ultimae hebdomadae paschae offeratur panis et calix, et qui passus est pro eo, quod obtulit, ipse est qui accedit," and, in a note, "Sic vertimus ad verbum locum istum obscurum prout legitur tum in codice Mossulano, tum in Borgiano; interpres Copto-Arabs sic praedictum locum exhibet: Feria quinta ad vespertas offerat sacerdos panem et calicem mixtum aqua et vino ad implendum mysterium Paschae, item faciat die Sabbati." The passage is, beyond doubt, corrupt and obscure. Let us remark, however, that the words translated by Archbishop Rahmani, "ultimae hebdomadae Paschae," can also be rendered, as done by himself on page 127, "ultimo Sabbato Paschae." I would much prefer that last rendering, as it seems strange that the writer who has been engaged in exposing at length the ceremonial of Holy Saturday should all at once come back to Maunday Thursday. Besides, the lamp offered to the people by the Deacon and the chant of the Alleluiah brought under that very same heading, point clearly to the Holy Saturday. I suppose, therefore, that after the words "ultimo Sabbato Paschae," the text primitively read: "B° ramesha d° Khadh b° shabbā, i. e., ad vespertas Dominicae," instead of "B° Khamesha b° shabbā, i. e., feria quinta." That would account for the presence of "ad vespertas" and of "item faciat die Sabbati" in the Arabic version. The passage "et qui passus est, etc.," is, perhaps, more difficult still. It can, however, with some emendation to the text, be translated: "qui passus est locum tenet hujus quod offert ille qui offert," i. e., Christ himself on that day takes the place of the offering made, on other days, by the faithful. In our own rite, the offertory is omitted on Holy Saturday. The Church, not the faithful, contributes on that day the bread and wine

to be offered. Dom Guéranger, in his "Année Liturgique," says, "I do not know on what ground, unless for shortness sake, the faithful being tired after the lengthy service that precedes the mass." I would like to suggest that it is to emphasize the inauguration of the New Sacrifice, in which Christ, the High Priest, offers himself to God, not the goats and heifers contributed by the people. Hebr., ix., 12-14.

We shall close here this too lengthy review, for lack of time and space rather than material. We trust, however, that these remarks will suffice to show that if scholars have to thank the author for having faithfully published and translated his text, they are not yet fully equipped for a thorough discussion of the contents. The text has to be re-edited in the light of modern criticism, the other Syriac manuscripts being sought out, examined, and compared with the Arabic and other versions. Until this is done it is needless to attempt a thorough discussion of this most important and interesting document. It is but fair to state that Mgr. Rahmani has himself felt these shortcomings. He attributes them to the necessity of a hasty return from Rome to his see, and promises to give us, in the near future, a more perfect work. H. H.

The Oxyrynchus Papyri, edited with translations and notes, by Bernard P. Grenfell, M. A., and Arthur S. Hunt, M. A. Part I, with eight plates. London, 1898, xvi + 284. Part II, with eight plates. London, 1899, xii + 358.

Of the value and interest of the discoveries that have been made in Egypt of recent years it is at the present time unnecessary to speak. The study of the papyri has won for itself an independent position among the branches of classical philology, comparable with that occupied by epigraphy, and can no longer be neglected by him who seeks to know Greek life as a unit. For to the student of the Greek language every form is of worth, whether it be recorded in the parchment or paper manuscripts of a classical author, on the stone of an inscription or on the more perishable surface of a papyrus roll, while the student of Greek literature owes, to the study of the papyri among other debts, the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* of Aristotle, the mimes of Herondas, the poems of Bacchylides, and portions of the *Ἰεῦρος* of Menander. And though the present volumes do not number among their contents such literary treasures as these, what they do contain is of value enough to make us wish eagerly for the appearance of the succeeding volumes, that will bring the remaining results of the explorations at Oxyrynchus, and to hope that the editors will be enabled to conduct explorations elsewhere that will be crowned with equal or perhaps even greater success.

In the year 1897 the Egypt Exploration Fund established a branch to be known as the Graeco-Roman Branch, "for the discovery and publication of remains of classical antiquity and early Christianity in Egypt," and the present volumes are the first fruits of its labors. In the same year the editors discovered at Oxyrynchus—the site now occupied by Behnesa—a large number of papyri. Since that time the directors of the Fund have (without abandoning the idea of further explorations) recognized that the work nearest to hand was to make these documents accessible by publication, and it is a great monument to the ability, energy and industry of the editors that they were able to bring forth the first volume within the short space of eleven months after the arrival of the collection in England, and to follow it promptly the next year with the second volume. To appreciate this it is necessary to call attention to the bulk of the collection. The documents contained in Part I are a selection from twelve or thirteen hundred documents which had been examined up to the time of its publication, while four-fifths of the collection still remained unpacked, not to mention the hundred and fifty rolls that had been left at the Gizeh museum.

Part I contains 158 texts published in extenso, and descriptions of 49 others. These texts fall into two great classes, literary and non-literary. The first of these classes is subdivided into Theological, Nos. i-vi; New Classical Fragments, Nos. vii-xv; Fragments of Extant Classical Authors, Nos. xvi-xxix; Latin Fragments, xxx-xxxii. The non-literary papyri are not arranged in chronological order, except that the papyri of the first four centuries, Nos. xxxiii-cxxiv, are kept separate from those of the sixth and seventh centuries, Nos. cxxv-clviii, the arrangement within each subdivision being according to the subject-matter. At the close are added Nos. clx-ccvii, the short descriptions of the papyri that it seemed unnecessary to publish in full.

Part II, containing 193 papyri, with descriptions of 100 others, is devoted entirely to documents of the first century, exceptions being made only in case of literary papyri and of the long and important Petition of Dionysia. In other respects the arrangement is the same as that of Part I, viz.:—Theological, Nos. ccviii-x; New Classical Fragments, Nos. cxxi-xxii; Fragments of Extant Classical Authors, Nos. ccxxiii-xxxiii; Miscellaneous—Medical Prescriptions, Horoscope, and the Petition of Dionysia, Nos. ccxxxiv-xxxvii; First Century Documents, Nos. ccxxxviii-ccc, arranged according to subject-matter; and, finally, Nos. cccci-cccc, Descriptions of First Century Papyri.

As will be seen from this summary the non-literary papyri largely predominate. Apart from their palaeographical and linguistic value—which is enhanced by the fact that they can often be assigned to a definite

date—they throw a flood of light upon the private and public life of Egypt during this period. The many sides of life that are touched upon may be seen from the following selections from the headings—Edict of a Prefect Concerning Archives; Interview with an Emperor; Proclamation and List of Emperors; Customs Regulations; Reports—of a Law-suit, of a Public Meeting, of Public Physicians, On a Persea Tree; Petitions; Complaints—of Robbery, against a Husband, against a Wife; Extortion—by a Soldier, by Tax Collectors; Land Distribution; Emancipation of Slaves; Appointments—of a Guardian, of a Delegate, of Treasury Officials; Peculations by a Treasury Official; Declarations; Registrations; Sales; Transfers; Contracts; Receipts; Letters; Wills; etc., etc. Still it is no depreciation of their value to say that the centre of interest for most readers lies in the literary documents. Of these the Theological call for treatment at the hand of a professed theologian, and I will pass them by, remarking only that they contain (No. i) the now famous *Λόγια 'Ιησοῦ*—Willamowitz-Moellendorf's designation *'Αποφθέγματα* would have been preferable—and a fragment of the Gospel of St. Matthew (No. II) of the third century, which may consequently belong to the oldest known manuscript of any part of the New Testament.

Proceeding next to the fragments of extant classical authors, we find that there are 26 papyri, containing portions of Homer, Sophocles, Enripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Plato, Euclid, and Vergil. These date generally from the first three centuries of our era—the only exceptions being the fragments of Sophocles and Vergil, which date from the fifth century, and that of Euclid, which belongs to the third or fourth century. Now, our texts of these Greek authors are based upon manuscripts, even the oldest of which are of much later dates, e. g., the Bodleian Codex of Plato, is of the end of the ninth century, while the oldest manuscript of Enripides dates only from the twelfth century—and at the first glance it would seem probable that a text written many centuries earlier would be vastly superior. But past discoveries have shown that the older manuscript is not necessarily the better manuscript. The Marseilles fragments of Isocrates are inferior to the Urbino, the Flinders-Petrie to the Bodleian codex of Plato, and the contents of the present volumes enforce the same lesson. In spite of interesting variants, some few of which may be correct, there is not a single papyrus which it would be wise to purchase in perfect condition by the loss of our best manuscript of the same author. The value of the new discoveries is the comforting assurance that they give of the careful preservation of the classical texts during the centuries between the beginning of our era and the date of our oldest manuscripts.

What is in reality the most important part of the work—the newly-

discovered fragments of classical literature—is also the part in which the editors' task has been most difficult. The difficulty must have been greatly increased by the rapidity of the publication—a consideration that should increase our gratitude for it to the editors. For the condition of the fragments is such as to render an attempt at their restoration obligatory, but how easy it is for the hand of even a master like Bergk to go astray in such an attempt was shown by the discovery of the *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία*—compare the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XII, p. 98, where are shown, in deadly parallel columns, the restoration and the text afterwards discovered. Fortune is not likely to bring the present restorations to such a test, but second thought has already led Blass—whose assistance the editors have reason to gratefully acknowledge—to say of part of his restoration of the poem of Sappho (*Neue Jahrb., f. d. kl. Altertum*. III, p. 49): “Dass es falsch ist glaube ich fest; wie falsch ist Gegenstand des Zweifels.”

Of the new discoveries the two that stand out the most conspicuously are the fifty odd lines of a New Comedy, No. ccxi, which can be identified by means of the quotation, “ὁ δ' ἀλδστωρ ἐγὼ καὶ ζηλότυπος ἄνθρωπος,” as belonging to the *Περικειρομένη* of Menander, and No. vii, the poem of Sappho. The first of these is but slightly mutilated, and, although short, contains the climax of the play, and so allows us to infer what the general scope of the plot must have been. The second is probably complete, but, unfortunately, so mutilated that no complete reconstruction of the last stanza has been attempted, nor has any attempt at the reconstruction of the fourth stanza proved successful. As the poem is short, and, perhaps, not easily accessible to all readers of the BULLETIN, I will quote it, omitting the last stanza :

- 1 Χρύσαισι] Νηρηΐδες ἀβλάβη[ν μοι
τὸν κασί]γνητον δ[ό]τε τοῖδ' ἴκεσθαι.
κῶσσα ρ[ῶ] θύμῳ κε θέλῃ γένεσθαι
πάντα τε]λέσθην.
- 5 ὅσσα δὲ πρ]όσθ' ἄμβρουτε, πάντα λῦσα[ι
ὥς φίλοις]· φῶϊσι χάραν γένεσθαι
πημόναν δ' ε]χθροῖσι· γένουτο δ' ἄμμι
μήκετι μ]ήδεις.
τὰν κασίγ]νηταν δὲ θέλοι πόησθαι.
- 10 ἔμμορον] τίμας, [όν]ίαν δὲ λῶγραν
ἐκλάθουτ'] ὅτοισι [πά]ροιθ' ἀχέων
τλάμων ἐδά]μνα
κέαρ, ὀνειδίσ]μ' εἰσαΐω[ν] τό κ' ἐγ' χρῶ
κέρρε πολ]λ' ἐπ' ἀγ[λαί]α πολίταν
- 15 καὶ βρῶχῳ ζ]αλεῖπ[ον ἀ]νῆκε δηῦτ' οὐ
μὰν διὰ μάκρῳ.

The poem, written in an attempt to bring about a reconciliation with her brother—probably Charaxus, with whom she had quarreled on account of his relations with the courtesan Rhodopis,—is of especial interest as showing the work of the poetess in a line different from that of the other long fragments that have been preserved, the theme of which is the passion of love. It will also be welcome to the defenders of Sappho's character. The Sappho of the Athenian comic poets would not have quarreled with her brother on such grounds, nor could any but a woman of great tenderness and real sisterly feeling have been the author of this prayer.

The text, as printed above, follows in the main Jurenka's reconstruction (Wiener Studien, xxi, 1 ff.), which has seemed to me the most successful, although there are in it points still open to discussion. The opening epithet may be either *πόντιαι* or *πόντιαι* (Diels) or *ὦ φίλαι* (Blass). In lines 1-2 *μῆ | τὸν* is undoubtedly preferable to *ἔ- | μόν*. Lines 3-4 might also be read—

κῶττι *μῆ* θύμῳ κε θέλῃ γένεσθαι
τοῦτο τελέσθην.

in closer parallelism to I 17,—*κῶττι ἔμψ μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι*,—though probably without much gain. In line 4 Blass reads *ταῦτα τελέσθην*. In line 5 the change of grammatical construction can be avoided by reading *λύσαι* instead of *λῦσαι*; no objection can be made to the form cf. Hoffman Gr. Dial II, p. 569. In line 8, Jurenka reads *δὴ ποτα*, but I cannot share his objections to Blass's *μήκετι* or *μήποτα*. In line 10 Blass reads *κῶλίγας*. The reading given in line 11 is that of Blass; Jurenka reads *λᾶσιν ἡδ' ὅττοις*. An objection to both is the form *ὅττοις* which is found unaccented in the manuscript. Either *ὅττοις* or *ὅττις* (cf. Hoffman, II, p. 504), is demanded by the dialect. Since a change is necessary it seems to me possible that the slightest one would be to read *ἐκλάδοις* *ταῖς*, which would also remove the syntactical difficulty, though as in all the other reconstructions the difficulty would still remain that we would expect the pronoun in this position to take its case regimen from the participle rather than from the finite verb. In line 12 Jurenka's rejection of Blass's *κᾶμον* is undoubtedly correct, and changes the whole meaning of the stanza. The objection to *κᾶμον* is revealed by the English translation:

“To assuage the pain he brought whose cruel blow
My soul did kill,
Yea, mine.”

For *ἐκλαθέσθαι* does not mean “to assuage,” but “to forget completely,” nor *ἀχεύειν* “to inflict grief,” but “to feel grief.” After this the recon-

struction becomes very problematical. The iterative imperfect and aorist, with $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ or $\delta\upsilon$, are certainly not Homeric, and Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, p. 86, would lead to the inference that the construction does not occur in Lyric poetry. An example of each in a single stanza is surprising. Jurenka's reading of $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ for $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ does away with one—it could be accomplished also in other ways—but the choice must be made between the other and $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\rho\omega$.

The other discoveries comprise a fragment of an Alexandrian epic poem, No. ccxiv, that refers, as far as can be deciphered, to the landing in Mysia of the expedition against Troy and the battle with Telephus; also a short fragment, No. viii, containing four nearly perfect hexameters besides three badly mutilated ones which the editors assign to Alcman. Two of the imperfect lines have been ingeniously restored by Jurenka (*Wiener Studien*, xxii, 25 ff.), so that the whole reads:

ο(ὐ μαλ)ακόν (τι) τυπῶσα[ς
βῆνα(ι ᾄ)ρ' (ᾄνδ)ρ' (ἀφίη)τί τ(ε σύ)κινον ἐν νεκύεσ(σιν).
Ἦνθομεν ἐς μεγάλας Δαμάτερος ἐννέ' ἐάσσα[ι
παῖσαι παρθενικαὶ παῖσαι καλὰ ἔμματ' ἐχούσα[ι
καλὰ μὲν ἔμματ' ἐχούσαι ἀριπρεπείας δὲ καὶ ὄρμ[ους
πριστῶ ἐ[ξ ἐ]λέφαντος ἰδῆν ποτεοικότας αἶγ[λαφ.

In addition to these there is a fragment of a tragedy (No. ccxiii) containing a speech referring to the fate of Niobe. Considerations of style make it not improbable that the author was Sophocles. Comedy is represented by Nos. x, xi, ccxii, all of which, unfortunately, are badly mutilated, while No. xiv contains part of an elegiac poem, and No. xv epigrams intended to be accompanied by a flute. Of later prose works we have a philosophical fragment No. ccxv on the popular idea of religion which the editors would assign to some Epicurean philosopher, and, perhaps, to Epicurus himself; a rhetorical exercise (No. ccxvi) which purports to be the speech of an anti-Macedonian orator upon a letter of Philip; two fragments from letters to a king of Macedon, one of which (No. xiii) is evidently in imitation of Isocrates, the other (No. ccxviii) the editors would assign either to Aristotle or Theopompus. Besides these, we have in No. ccxix a lament for a fighting cock, and in No. ccxviii a Historical Fragment which the editors would assign to a collection of *Παράδοξα*, though its subject-matter is such as to make one think of the *Βαρβαρικά Νόμιμα* of Callimachus.

Among the most valuable discoveries are the fragments of works of a scientific rather than a literary character. Of these No. xii is a fragment of a Chronological Work covering the years 355–315 B. C. and noticing events in Greek, Persian, Egyptian, and Roman history, with

frequent deviations from the generally received chronology. No. ccxii is a list of Olympian victors for the years 480-468 and 456-448, which is of especial interest for the student of Pindar and Bacchylides, and gives valuable information about the chronology of their poems. Two others are parts of treatises on metre, No. ix being perhaps from the *Πυθμικά Στοιχεῖα* of Aristoxenus, while No. ccxx is of later origin, but of great interest for the study of the history of the theory of metre. Finally, in No. ccxxi, we have scholia to the twenty-first book of the *Iliad* that are not only of interest in themselves but also for the light that they throw upon the origin and merits of the other scholia that have been preserved.

In conclusion I will append the following notes that have suggested themselves in the course of reading the volumes:

Vol. I, p. 13: That the Lesbian poets do not "neglect" the digamma has been shown by Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* II, 456 ff. P. 30: This date for Plato's death is also given by Hermippus, ap. *Diog. Laërtius* III, 2. P. 45, No. xviii: Noteworthy is the agreement of the papyrus with the Florentinus in reading αὐτοὶ Ἰόνιοι λέγουσι instead of the αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἰόνιοι of the other manuscripts. The restoration—της σ[υ]ρίας—is a slip that introduces an Attic form. No. xix: Is the mark above line 4, ισδ, i. e., ἴσιν, a recognition of the equivalence of ἐξελαύνειν and ὀρμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν? The occurrence of this evident gloss in the papyrus, as well as in our manuscripts, is noteworthy and parallel with the manifest confusion of the pronouns in the fragment of Sophocles and also in the manuscripts. P. 46: In B 803, κατὰ must be read—can the π[ρ]οτι? of the papyrus come from a marginal variant in 801, where προτί, though found in none of our manuscripts, must be read instead of περὶ? P. 48: The reading of the corrector in line 378 τοῦ seems to me preferable, as the reply of Teiresias first clears Kreon in answer to the first half of the question, and then instead of denying his own guilt (in reply to ἡ σοῦ) he designates (in reply to ἡ τοῦ) the party responsible for the trouble. In line 434 the papyrus seems to me to support the reading of Suidas, which renders necessary Porson's emendation. The first hand wrote σχολης γ' αν by mistake for σχοληι γ' αν—notice how in the next line sigma is lost by haplography after iota: ημει for ἡμεῖς. The corrector, missing the iota of σχολῃ, added it, giving σχοληι σ' γ' αν, which would afterwards be corrected to σχοληι σ' αν. Whether the σ' of τοὺς ἐμούς σ' ἐστειλάμην was corrected (?) at the same time, or lost at an earlier period by haplography, it is impossible to tell, as the end of the line is missing in the papyrus. P. 56: For §§ 83 and 87 read §§ 77 and 81.

Vol. II, p. 96: The editors make no mention of the stichometric marks in No. ccxxiii. The system of numbering by the hundred verses is known in other papyri of Homer, (cf. Thompson *Handb. of Gr. and*

Lat. Pal., p. 80), but as the numbers in the present case do not coincide with the number of lines actually written, they must have been copied from a still older manuscript. As α is placed opposite line 101, it follows that this manuscript either did not omit both 42 and 57, as is done by the papyrus, or it must have contained another line unknown to us in this context. The former alternative seems to me more probable of the unintentional omission of lines 75, 126. As $\bar{\beta}$ coincides with line 200 the manuscript in which these notes originated must have possessed a line between 101 and 200 that has not come down to us (cf. the similar case in No. xx). Of greater interest is the fact that $\bar{\gamma}$ falls opposite to line 296, indicating four additional lines between 200 and 300; that it is not a mere blunder is shown by the fact that $\bar{\delta}$ is not placed opposite to any of the lines (397-403) which we have, but has probably been lost with the beginning of line 396. Is it a mere coincidence that we have within this space (275-6) two lines that cannot possibly join? It is to be hoped that if any more of these marks occur in the unpublished fragments, the fact will be made known. P. 112: The accentuation shows that $\delta\tau\theta\ \alpha(\nu)\sigma\chi\eta\sigma(\epsilon)\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ was not intended. P. 116: The editors remark that the corrected reading of the papyrus $\iota\eta\iota\omega\omega\ \beta\omicron\alpha\nu\ \iota\eta\iota\omega\omega\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in lines 1036, 7 is metrically correct and would apparently favor its adoption. While it may be possible to think of an adjective based on the repeated exclamation $\iota\eta$, $\iota\eta$, the repetition of words is so characteristic of Euripides (cf. from this play alone 679, 681, 819, 1019, 1054, 1287, 1299, 1500, 1569, 1716, 1720, 1721, 1725, 1726, and the delightful parody in Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1352 ff.) that there can be but little doubt that the emendation of Grotius is to be accepted and that the papyrus serves only to show an intermediate stage of corruption. In line 1040 the papyrus reads $\alpha\chi\alpha\iota$, which the editors interpret as $\acute{\alpha}\chi\tilde{\alpha}$; it may also be $\acute{\alpha}\chi\acute{\alpha}$, with correct accent but false iota adscript (on account of the neighboring $\beta\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$), thus confirming Musgrave's conjecture, or finally the nominative plural $\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\iota$. Either $\acute{\alpha}\chi\acute{\alpha}$ or $\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\iota$ would be syntactically admissible, but the former would come closer to the reading of the manuscript $\iota\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}$. P. 118: With the editors' opinion of the reading $\alpha\mu\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ for $\acute{\alpha}\mu\upsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ I cannot agree. Compare, e. g., the exactly parallel passage, 1, 110, 4: $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\omega\nu\ \acute{\Lambda}\theta\eta\nu\omega\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma\ \xi\upsilon\mu\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\iota\ \pi\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \acute{\Lambda}\gamma\upsilon\pi\tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\nu\delta\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu\ \chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\delta\acute{\omicron\tau}\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omega\nu\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$. In the present passage, besides, $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$ prepares the way for the change to the masculine. With regard to the removal of Thucydidean grammatical difficulties in Book IV by the discovery of No. xvi, I must agree, in general, with Steup (Rh. M. 53, pp. 308-315), and in particular that $\epsilon\tau\iota$ in the passage in question is to be retained.

The method of publication is excellent, both in plan and execution. The typographical work is admirable, and the plates excellent. The use of the volumes might be rendered slightly more convenient if the number of the papyrus were indicated at the top of each page. Misprints are extremely rare, the following having been noted: Vol. 1, p. 40, last line, read *KAI* or *KA[I* for *KA*; p. 52, line 4, for Beiter's read Baiter's; p. 55, line 16 from bottom, read *ταῦθ'*, *ταῦτά* for *ταῦδ'*, *ταῦτα*; Vol. II, in No. ccxxx, column 1, line 32, read *εζητουμην* for *εητουμην*, and in No. ccxxxii, column 2, line 2, *εδικασθ[η η ιδια* for *εδικασθ[η ιδια*—unless these variants are intended, in which case they should be mentioned in the notes; p. 116, line 7 from bottom, read *ἀλλ'* for *ἀλλ'*. The volumes are liberally supplied with indices which greatly enhance their usefulness and increase accordingly our indebtedness to the editors.

In conclusion I would call the attention of the friends of Classical Philology (of whom there should be many among the readers of the BULLETIN) to the fact that it is in their power, by subscribing to the Graeco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund, not only to obtain for themselves an interesting series of publications, but also to contribute their share towards the advancement of this branch of science, by enabling the Society to continue the work which has been so well begun. May the editors soon be able to give us Part Third. G. M. B.

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THESAURUS LINGUAE LATINAE.

With the beginning of the new century the first number of the long promised *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* issues from the press. The appearance of these early sheets indicates not merely an advance; they signalize a revolution in lexicon making. They mark the beginnings of a really scientific treatment of Latin lexicography; for the *Thesaurus* aims at nothing less than a final statement of the actual facts of the language. The need of such a completed induction had long been felt, for it was recognized that conclusions based on the general sense of words and the general style of language were vague and therefore unsatisfactory for accurate exegesis. That exact interpretation of a given text connoted a completed statement of the author's actual usage.

* * *

But while this need was recognized and the attempt made to satisfy it by that monumental work, the Facciolati-Forcellini Lexicon; by the later compilations of Georges and by the still more detailed work of Freund and Klotz; still the original faults were transmitted and their work vitiated. For, the uncritical methods employed by these great lexicographers, their partial citation and, more than all, the corrupt state of the texts actually quoted, rendered their conclusions capable only of a provisional acceptance. Then, besides the want of confidence begotten of the knowledge of these defects, the consciousness was ever growing that the collection and arrangement of lexical material for a complete induction was a task which no single individual could hope to accomplish. Finally, Wölflin's *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie*, though containing articles of the highest importance, did not aim at systematic treatment, it simply prepared the way for the *Thesaurus*. Thus exact elucidation demanded that each interpreter collect his own material; for if recourse were had to existing collections, to even the great Forcellini *de Vit*, it was always with the foreknowledge that only a partial history of the word would be found. Besides, text criticism was only beginning when the work of Freund and Klotz appeared; and consequently their careful and detailed articles, though an advance upon former efforts, lacked that certainty of citation which the recent critical editions of the texts have placed at the disposal of the *Thesaurus*. Moreover those almost exhaustless mines of lexical material gathered together in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, in the *Corpus Glossarum* and in numerous coin collections, and now available for the *Thesaurus*, were

left almost untouched by the earlier compilers. Not, however, because they underestimated the importance of such material for lexical purposes, but because in their time no adequate collections had been made. Now on the contrary when Wölfin's "Archiv" is already beyond the tenth volume, every one of which is rich in lexical material unknown in those earlier days; when perfected texts are multiplying; when the *Corpus Inscriptionum* has made accessible thousands of but recently discovered inscriptions; when the *Corpus Glossarum* with its large collections of missing words and word explanations is available, the time seems ripe for summing up the facts of the language. The first thing necessary was the formulation of a plan. Several were suggested; one had been outlined by Halm as early as 1858. This one met with general favor at that time, but difficulties of a practical nature were in the way and the scheme was never carried out.

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In 1893, Bücheler and Wölfin proposed a plan which was a modification of Halm's and which is the one followed in the *Thesaurus*. They suggested that the five great philological academies, namely those of Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, Munich and Vienna, should collaborate in and be responsible for the work. A committee chosen from the membership of these academies was given power to prepare the preliminary work; and a sum sufficient to carry the work on for a number of years was guaranteed. The thoroughness of this preliminary work may be understood from the fact, that every occurrence of every word in the authors examined was registered on a separate card. These cards were then arranged so as to bring together the words noted on the cards; thus assembling the entire usage of the author in reference to every word noted. And so both the number of times a word occurs in an author, the constructions it is found in, in short, the whole history of the word in the author, is revealed at a glance. Then when the same method obtains not for a single author only, but for a period of the literature, still more far-reaching are the results; for all the etymologies which a particular word has originated are seen; and most important of all its semiological development can be traced chronologically and therefore with certainty.

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Now as to the texts used: Not only are the newest and best editions called into requisition, but each single text has been entrusted to an expert, one thoroughly familiar with the state of the text and the history of its MMS. All the inscriptions up to the end of the first century as well as the entire *Corpus Glossarum* are registered and arranged; the whole periodical literature was searched and the scattered lexical material

slipped in the manner already indicated. All this preliminary work was finished in October, 1899. The work proper was then begun. The entire registered material was assembled in the rooms of the Academy of Science at Munich; there the editing staff, composed of a general director and twelve other scholars, began the composition of the articles. These articles are written entirely on the basis of the collated material; and besides the citations are arranged so as to speak for themselves. There is no play whatever for conjecture. It is easy to see what an advantage the writer of an article for the *Thesaurus* has had over the earlier lexicographers. First of all, he has *all* the material at hand; his citation is complete; second, his material has been scrutinized critically and is as free as possible from corruption. He has simply to arrange the citations in the proper order and the story of the word is told. Of course the principle of arrangement will vary for different words. In the longer articles that order will be adopted which will allow a complete survey of the sphere of the word at the very beginning of the discussion.

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A fair notion of the work actually accomplished and of the advantages of the *Thesaurus* over former lexicons can be had by a short comparison. For example, the word "animosus" 33 lines in Forcellini and in the *Thesaurus* 80. F. quotes 21 passages, showing the usage of this word; the *Thes.* apart from the glosses quotes 180. Under "Anima" F. gives 54 lines and 24 citations; the *Thes.* 113 and 119. Again, as to the comparative reliability of the *Thes.* and F.: Under the same word, "Animosus," F. quotes Naevius instead of Novius. Of the three Plautus passages quoted by F. under the word "Animatus," one is corrupt and does not contain the word. Another has been interpreted in quite a different sense by recent editors. The third only is genuine and useful for elucidating the Plautine meaning of the word. Again under the same word "Animatus" the F. citations of Ovid's *Met.* VI, 134, and *Prop.* III, 9, 9, were entirely misunderstood by Forcellini. And so on throughout the whole work there is scarcely an item in Forcellini, which owing either to incomplete citation, faulty interpretation, or to the corrupt state of the text, does not need revision. In the preparation of the *Thesaurus*, however, not only have its editors had the advantages of a registered and complete material for most of their articles; they have also utilized the best guaranteed texts, so that their induction is complete and their conclusions final.

* * *

Still it is to be regretted that the editors of the *Thesaurus* could not see their way to carry into the registration of the patristic Latinity that completeness which marks their classification of the earlier litera-

ture. They have registered the later Latin down to the end of the sixth century by excerpts; and here, of course, their conclusions must partake of the weakness necessarily incident to the incomplete induction. If it were necessary to collate all the forms of the earlier Latin it seems that it was indispensable to do so for the later language. For the Christian Church in that period was elaborating its technical terminology, was busy fixing the old pagan terms to new meanings; consequently many an old word received a new and strange significance. Hence this failure to make a complete and exhaustive registration cannot but mar an otherwise perfect work; for it leaves only half-studied precisely that sphere, where exact word-study was imperative. And hence it seems that the great Thesaurus will in regard to the later Latin labor under the same difficulty which marks Forcellini's treatment of the entire literature.

J. D. M.

NOTES AND COMMENT.¹

EDUCATIONAL.

1. **Addresses by Bishop Spalding.**—The first volume of the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1898-99 contains three addresses delivered on various occasions by the Bishop of Peoria. The titles are: "The American Patriot"; "The University and the Teacher"; "The University, a Nursery of the Higher Life."

2. **Professor Adams on Medieval Schools.**—Prof. Herbert B. Adams, of the Johns Hopkins University, contributes to the *Report* an interesting paper on "University Extension in Great Britain." Referring, in his historical introduction, to the schools of the Middle Ages, he says: "The educational essays of Brother Azarias, that faithful Catholic scholar and true poet, the lamented head of Rock Hill College, Ellicott City, Md., proved conclusively to American readers that the medieval Church did not neglect either primary or popular education. All was given that the times really needed or demanded. The rise of colleges and universities cannot be explained without reference to the cathedral and cloister schools of the Middle Ages. Even the education of women, which some modern universities still obstruct, was provided for in medieval nunneries, the historic forerunners of all modern seminaries and colleges for women. Witness that cloistered school at Gandersheim, in North Germany, where, in the tenth century, a clever nun, Roswitha, wrote Latin plays in imitation of Terence, for her companions to act. Verily there is nothing new in education. The miracle plays of the Middle Ages were popular dramas. Monks and nuns, priests and friars, Christian poets and wandering minstrels were teachers of the common people. Folk-lore, folk-songs, popular lives of the saints, Christian art and architecture, frescoes or wall paintings, cathedral portals, and parish churches were veritably open books, known and read of all men and women in the 'Dark Ages' (falsely so called) before printing was invented and learning made easy. The gymnasias of modern Germany were based upon medieval and monkish foundations, upon confiscations of ancient religious endowments. . . . Turning from Germany to England, we find that from monkish beginnings, medieval Church foundations and modern confiscations of religious endowments proceeded the older endowed public schools, those famous Latin or classical grammar schools, from which historic types the Boston Latin School and all the earlier academies and preparatory schools in America were derived."

¹See BULLETIN, vol. vi (1900), pp. 127, 268.

3. **The Irish University Question** is discussed in its religious, social, and political aspects by Rev. M. McPolin in the *New Ireland Review* for December. The situation, as he sums it up, is quite clear from the viewpoint of justice. In Ireland, where Catholics form at least two-thirds of the population, the institutions of university grade controlled by Protestants enjoy revenues amounting to £95,000 yearly. The spirit and influence of these colleges are notoriously anti-Catholic. Both the Holy See and the national synods have expressly warned Catholics against the "grave and intrinsic dangers to faith and morals" which such institutions involve. Practically, therefore, the conscientious Catholic is debarred from the opportunities of higher education. This means eventually that he must surrender all claim to any appointment of a high and lucrative kind for which university training is required. A separate Catholic university, it is urged, with endowment equal at least to that which supports the Protestant colleges, would meet the just demands of the Catholic majority.

As to the justice and pressing need of this reform, there is complete unanimity among nationalists of every hue. Their views, however, on the wisdom and policy of seeking immediate redress show some divergence. Those who hold back are of opinion that the university question should be postponed until the land and financial questions have been settled. The more courageous maintain that action should be taken at once, as there is a better outlook in the present Parliament for securing the university than for doing away with the other grievances. The plan which seems to promise the best results is one of levelling up rather than of levelling down. The Protestant institutions are to be left in undisturbed enjoyment of their privileges and grants. All that the Catholics ask is equality in matters of education. It remains, then, to be seen whether Englishmen, whose own great universities rest on Catholic foundations, will deal fairly with the claims of Catholic Ireland.

4. **Association of Catholic Colleges of the United States.**—On Friday, November 23, the executive committee of the Association of Catholic Colleges of the United States met in the Rector's office, McMahon Hall, to consider the work to be presented at the next Conference to be held at St. James' Hall, Chicago, on April 13th, 14th, and 15th next. The members present were: Right Rev. Mgr. Thomas J. Conaty, D. D., president; Rev. James P. Fagan, S. J., Georgetown University; Rev. James French, C. S. C., Notre Dame University; Rev. L. A. Delurey, C. S. A., St. Thomas College, Villanova, Pa.; Rev. Vincent Huber, O. S. B., St. Bede College, Peru, Ill.; Rev. Wm. O'Hara, M. A., Mount St. Mary's Seminary, Emmitsburg, Md. The day was devoted to discussion of business, and

the following topics were decided upon: "The Catholic High School Movement," "Educational Legislation," "Study of English," "Study of History," "Study of Greek," "Study of Science." On the same day the committee on "Entrance Conditions to Freshman Class," appointed at the second annual Conference last April to consider this question, held a meeting and discussed the matter. The result of their deliberations will be made known to the coming meeting. All the members of the committees were present. They were guests of the rector at dinner, and in the evening were entertained at supper at Georgetown University.

CHEMISTRY.

5. *Some Recent Manifestations of the Spirit of Alchemy.*—The philosopher's stone, which was to transform the baser metals into gold, was the object of centuries of vain search, and its reputed possession the inspiration of the unequalled charlatanism of the early alchemists. Though the credibility in the existence of such a talisman has disappeared, the fundamental doctrine of alchemy, the transmutation of metals, remains, and every age has those of its adherents who imagine that they have wrested from nature her great secret. Chemical science does not pronounce definitely against the possibility of the transmutation of metals, and there are not a few chemists of repute who assert their positive belief that this will be one of the accomplishments of the chemist of the future. The classification of the elements is not an absolute one. The qualification of a substance as an element signifies essentially no more than that it successfully resists all the methods of decomposition at present known to the chemist; greater skill and more effective analytical agents may at any time increase or diminish the number now listed in the text-books. There are those who believe that the differentiating principle in matter is its energy contents, and these hold that the transmutation of an element is nothing more than the transformation of the motions which determine the existence of said element, and which give it special properties, into the specific motions proper to the existence of another element.

A distinguished German chemist, apropos of a transmutation which he claims to have effected, said quite recently: "At heart we are still alchemists, not actually in the sense of making gold, but from the point of view of the possibility of transmuting metals. If it is true, and we have a right to suppose it so, that the metals as we know them are not elements; if it is true that there is only one element, as suggested by von Helmholtz, and that there are even four, as imagined by the ancients

we ought to succeed, in the more or less near future, in transmuting the elements, and thus solving the old problem of alchemy." The desire of obtaining wealth has always been more or less of a spur to human activity in and out of all arts and sciences, and there have been chemists endowed with that modicum of learning which the poet qualifies as "a dangerous thing," who have imagined themselves capable of converting the base into the noble metals, or of obtaining the latter from some hitherto unsuspected source. The British Patent Office was once imposed upon by one of these modern alchemists to such an extent that they allowed a patent for obtaining gold from wheat by skimming the water used in washing the straw; and not many years ago a French chemist visited South America with a process of changing copper into gold, on the strength of which he abstracted a considerable sum from the pockets of his dupes. Three years ago a New York chemist claimed to have discovered a method of transmuting silver into gold, and as substantial evidence of the efficacy of his process sold to the United States Assay Office six ingots of a gold and silver alloy made from Mexican dollars, and for which he received about \$1,000. The sensation caused by this reputed discovery was of short duration, for critical experts showed that the silver of the Mexican dollars was imperfectly refined and contained a trifling quantity of gold, so small as not to pay for the expense of further refinement. . . . It was a case analogous to the finding of gold in sea water; the gold is there, but in quantities so minute as to preclude all profitable recovery. In a statement published in a New York newspaper of the time, this operator is quoted as expressing his confidence that his newly-discovered metal, which the assay office accepted as an alloy of gold and silver, but which he called "Argentaurum," would be produced in monthly quantities of 50,000 ounces within a year. Three years have since elapsed, and nothing further has been heard of the matter, for the reason, perhaps, that the energies of the inventor have found a new and more remunerative field in the development of a liquid air stock company. About this same time the United States Patent Office detected fraud in a method for converting antimony into gold, for which a patent was asked by an inventor who had interested several rich and credulous men in the process. The latest transmutation has been but recently effected, and by an eminent German chemist who claims to have made arsenic out of phosphorus and hopes to obtain antimony from the same substance. The prominence of this claimant for alchemical honors drew upon him the immediate attention of some of his confreres, who very quickly proved to the satisfaction of all but the chemist himself that his supposed arsenic was contained as an impurity in the phosphorus employed.

So the problem of transmutation remains unsolved, and though the attempts enumerated above have not succeeded in giving the world the doubtful benefit of an unlimited supply of the precious metals, some of them have resulted in that positive advantage to science and industry that must result from more efficacious methods of purification.

6. The Electrolytic Refining of Copper.—The nearest approach to the realization of the alchemist's dream, in fact the extraction of silver and gold in quantity from copper, is being accomplished by a process for refining the latter metal that has been carried on in this country for a number of years past.

The growth of electrical industries, it is well known, has created an enormous demand for copper, and as the value of this metal as a conductor of electricity depends on its purity, attempts were made to improve on the older processes of smelting. The fact that in electroplating, the electric current passing through a solution of sulphate of copper causes the deposition of copper at the negative pole, and the dissolution of copper at the positive pole, if this metal be there, indicated a line of experiments which resulted in the development of a method of refining which is now applied to two-thirds of all the copper produced in the United States. In a tank filled with a solution of sulphate of copper is suspended a thin plate of pure copper; opposite this, but a short distance removed, is hung a slab of the impure metal, and with these two copper plates as electrodes, a current of electricity is passed through the solution in such a direction that the pure metal deposits on the thin plate, while the impure dissolves in the solution. The impurities, which in the case of copper consist in great part of gold and silver, do not pass into solution, but remain as a black slime on the etched plate and bottom of the tank. There are now in this country eleven electrolytic copper refineries, producing annually 200,000 tons of the pure metal, and the value of the gold and silver obtained from this quantity of copper amounts to over \$13,000,000. Besides the gold and silver, great quantities of the rare metals selenium and tellurium, for which, however, there is yet no practical use, are obtained.

7. The Purification of Air.—Two French chemists, MM. Desgrez and Balthazard, recently reported to the Academy of Sciences at Paris on a method for regenerating vitiated air that promises to find application in a number of circumstances. When exhaled air is passed through water charged with sodium peroxide, this compound removes from it all the carbonic acid and noxious elements which make it unfit for respiration and restores to it its normal amount of oxygen. An apparatus has been devised to effect this reaction. It consists of a steel box divided into a number of compartments, one of which contains water into which falls,

at regular intervals determined by clockwork, a tablet of peroxide of sodium. The circulation of air through the apparatus is effected by means of a small electric fan actuated by a storage battery. The entire apparatus weighs twenty-six pounds, and may be strapped on the back of the operator and connected by means of rubber tubing with an air-tight headpiece. The appliance promises to be of great utility to divers and firemen, and to all who find it necessary to penetrate into a suffocating atmosphere.

8. Production of Pure Metals.—The high temperatures attained in the electric furnace have been utilized for the production of the hitherto-rare metals which enter into the manufacture of steel, and which give the metal those specific properties favorable to the use for which it is destined. Thus, manganese steel is used in the construction of dynamos, nickel steel for armor plates, chrome steel for projectiles, tungsten steel for tools, etc. These metals, when produced in the electric furnace, are very impure, containing a large percentage of carbon; in fact, they may be considered as mixtures of the metal and its carbide, the latter substance predominating. Very slight variation in its carbon contents affects the character of steel to a very great extent, hence the addition to it of the metals rich in carbon is a work requiring the greatest care.

For years chemists have endeavored to devise methods for the production of pure metals in quantity, but as the reduction of the metals from their ores was always effected by coal or coke in furnaces or by the electric arc between carbon poles, carbon always combined with the metal to a greater or lesser extent. In 1856, the Tessiers, of Rouen, took advantage of the great heat of combustion of aluminum in order to obtain copper and lead from their oxides; the reaction was explosive in its violence, but they succeeded in obtaining small quantities of the metals. Wöhler, Deville, Troost and other chemists made use of aluminium as a reducing agent, with varying success, and in 1893, Green and Wähl, in Philadelphia, were the first to prepare manganese, free from carbon, by this method. Goldschmidt, of Essen, however, has elaborated a very simple method for obtaining from their ores or oxides, by means of aluminium, all the non-volatile metals, absolutely free from carbon. The ore of the metal sought for is mixed with the proper proportion of aluminium, and placed in a fire clay crucible lined with aluminium oxide, and covered with a layer of the latter. No furnace is needed, a cartridge-charged with a mixture of aluminium powder and barium peroxide is placed in the crucible projecting through the upper layer of alumina to the mixture of aluminium and oxide, a short piece of magnesium ribbon is inserted in the cartridge and lighted. In a moment the reaction takes place, accompanied by an intense heat and dazzling glare. The alumin-

inm combines with the oxygen of the ore to form molten alnmina which floats on top and protects the newly-formed liquid metal from the action of the air. The metal obtained may be readily removed from the crucible when cool. Besides giving a metal free from carbon, the Goldschmidt process possesses the additional merit of rapidity; for example, the inventor has prepared 220 pounds of chrominm in twenty-five minntes.

9. A New Source of High Temperatures.—The intense heat evolved in the rednction of metals by means of aluminim, attaining a temperature of 3000 degrees, eqnal to that of the elective fnrnace, met with other applications, notably in working and welding iron. For example, large rivets or bolts are made red hot in a moment, by placing them in a cavity in a box of sand, snrrounding them with the mixture of aluminim and oxide, and igniting. Iron pipes, as large as four inches in diameter, have been joined, by surrounding the ends tightly pressed together with a mixture of aluminium and iron oxide and setting fire to it. The joints made in this manner are so firm that pipes thus connected have been bent and subjected to pressure and strain that have caused them to split longitudinally without rnpture of the weld. The quantity of the heating mixture, which the inventor calls "thermite" must be proportional to the work expected of it; and in some cases it must be diluted with sand. The heat is so intense and is applied so snddenly at one point that a hole may very easily be melted through a steel plate an inch in thickness.

The aluminium heat promises to find a wide application in the weld- ing of street-car rails. The jolting of the heavy cars now so universally used on street railways caused by passing over the joints, greatly diminish the life of the rails, and efforts have been made to prevent this by using longer rails and by welding the ends together so as to make each track consist of two long, continnous rails. The welding has hitherto been accomplished by heating the rails by means of electricity, coal or gaso- line; this requires much time, skill and cumbersome apparatus, and has not as yet been markedly snccessful. The aluminium method is very simple. The rails are firmly clamped together, a sheet iron form is placed about the joint, bnt not in contact with the rail, and outside this another sheet iron casing, the space between the two being packed with sand. A crncible is filled with the thermite, the cartridge inserted and lighted, and in a minnte or two the contents of the crucible, glowing with a daz- zling incandescence, are poured into the space between the inner form and the rail, and the clamps tightened up slightly. After a few minntes the forms are removed, and some blows with a hammer clear away the slag and expose the ends of the rails firmly united. This work has been successfully accomplished on several lines in Germany, and it is probable

that before long we may witness the practical operation of the method in our own cities.

10. Some Companions of Argon.—The value of liquid air as a laboratory reagent for the production of low temperatures is exemplified by the discovery, through its use, of several new constituents of the atmosphere. When large quantities of liquid air are permitted to evaporate quietly in Dewar bulbs, there remains behind a semi-solid paste which slowly evaporates. The gas arising from this was collected and freed from oxygen and nitrogen by repeated passage over red-hot magnesia, and was found to consist of a mixture of argon and two other gases, to which the names of krypton and xenon were given. This mixture of gases was liquefied and separated into its constituents by fractional distillation, the argon boiling off first, followed by the krypton.

In addition to these heavier gases, another lighter one was obtained by collecting the nitrogen which forms the greater portion of the gas first evaporating from liquid air. A quantity of this light nitrogen was obtained and liquefied; through this a current of air was forced and the evaporating gas collected. This latter portion, freed from oxygen and nitrogen, was found to consist of argon, helium, and a hitherto unknown gaseous substance, neon. As far as can be determined, these newly-discovered gases, like argon, are elemental and monatomic. The boiling points of helium and neon have not yet been determined with any degree of accuracy; those of argon, krypton and xenon are respectively 186, 152 and 109 degrees below zero, centigrade. The determination of the atomic weights of these gases, as determined by Ramsay and Travers, results in the approximate values: helium, 2; neon, 10; argon, 20; krypton, 41, and xenon, 64; figures which make their positions in the present periodic table quite a conundrum

CHURCH HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

11. The Church of France in the Hundred Years' War.—In the monumental work "*La Désolation des Eglises, Monastères et Hôpitaux de la France pendant la guerre de Cent. Ans.*" Father Denifle, O. P., has given to historians a documentary history of great value for the social and religious life of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (3 vols., 8°, xxv + 608, xiv + 528, and 529 — 864; A. Picard, Paris, 1900; 27 francs). War and political disorder, plague, famine and physical disturbances have a very great influence on the course of Church History, often greater than the circumstances of climate, topography, and national genius. This has been neatly brought out by Dom Gasquet in his work on "The

Great Pestilence of 1348" (The Black Death). Father Deniffe is among the best known and most laborious of mediævalists, thoroughly honest and critical, painstaking and methodical in all his voluminous writings.

12. O'Heyn and the "General Exile" of the Irish.—Father Ambrose Coleman, O. P., of St. Malachy's Priory, Dundalk, Ireland, proposes to reprint a very scarce work of the Dominican O'Heyn. It is an account of the condition and vicissitudes of the Dominican Order in Ireland, especially in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Only two copies are known to exist, in the Dominican convents of Galway and Tallaght, and it seems probable that never were there more than three or four copies in Ireland, the book having been printed on the Continent during the "dispersion" of the "brethren."

"The value of O'Heyn's little work," says Father Coleman, "consists in the interesting light he throws on contemporary events affecting his own Order. His experience of persecution was large, and he writes as an eye-witness. When a boy, he saw the priests in hiding under the Cromwellian regime; in the persecution of 1678-9, he had to go into hiding himself with Dr. Dominic Burke, O. P., bishop of Elphin, and afterwards into exile; in 1698, he was exiled again with hundreds of others, and lived till his death at Louvain, where, by order of his superiors, he wrote and published his book. He describes most of the Dominican fathers of his day and tells of their life and occupations in exile. In fact, he may be termed the historian of the 'General Exile,' as it is named by those who survived it, and it is evidently owing to the scarcity of his work that the event has been passed over so cursorily by the ecclesiastical historians of this country.

"Great amusement will doubtless be aroused by the 'bog Latin,' in which the book is written. It should however be tempered and softened with the reflection on the difficulties of acquiring classical learning in those days. This imperfection, in fact, has a charm all its own, and brings before us, by the most easy mental transition, the bog-school held out in the drizzling rain, the rock-altar, the humble exterior of the priests, who, in spite of all these drawbacks, were making a noble struggle against powerful odds, to preserve the heritage of the Island of Saints. And it puts vividly before us the pathetic figure of the old man, unused to writing, slowly and painfully recording for posterity the sufferings that he and his brethren had passed through—truly a meritorious occupation for the exiled friar after his life of labour in the ministry."

Our readers may thank us for re-printing as a literary curiosity, the full title of the work of O'Heyn. It breathes an air of sorrow and oppression and exile:

"Epilogus Chronologicus Exponens Succincte Conventus et Fundationes Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum in Regno Hybernæ et Nominæ pariter

Illustrium Filiorum ejusdem Provinciæ tam mortuorum quàm in exilio viventium,—Concinnatus A. R. P. Joanne O'Heyn, S. Theologiæ Præsentato, quondam Regente Primario in Collegio Sanctæ Crucis Lovanii, nunc autem instituto Chronologo suæ Provinciæ per mandatum Eximii P. M. Fr. Ambrosii O'Conor, Provincialis peridigni præfatæ Provinciæ. Scripta hæc omnia, et se totum submittit ex corde prædictus Fr. Joannes O'Heyn censuræ et correctioni S. Matris Ecclesiæ Catholicæ ac Apostolicæ Romanæ. Et hoc opusculum offert fideli corde, Jesu Christo Deo et homini vero, ac ejus Matri Virgini Cælorum Reginæ et afflictorum Consolatrici. Lovanii,—apud Ægidium Denique.—Anno 1706."

13. O'Hart's "Irish Pedigrees."—Apropos of the above-mentioned publications, it may be of use to some of our readers to know of the fifth edition of O'Hart's "Irish Pedigrees." This is the standard work on Irish genealogies, a notable example of reliable learning and conscientious research in a very difficult branch of historical lore. It has no rival for the present. Subscriptions may be addressed directly to Mr. John O'Hart, Woodside, Vernon Avenue, Clontarf, Dublin, or through Benziger Bros., New York. The work is issued in two volumes (1887–1888), containing, respectively, 944 and 992 pages, costing, without postage, 12s. 6d. each. A companion volume of the same character is the second edition of Mr. O'Hart's "Irish Landed Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland." (Dublin: James Duffy & Co., 12s. 6d.)

14. The Petrie Collection of Irish Music.—The Irish antiquarian, Dr. Petrie, published in 1857 a volume of ancient Irish airs. It contained no more than a tenth part of the 1,800 airs that he had been collecting from his seventeenth to his seventieth year. Their rescue was his principal literary passion, and by indulging it he had acquired the largest and most varied body of Irish folk music that is now known. He loaned them at first freely to the poet Moore, and even to Bunting, but grew eventually much dissatisfied with the methods of noting and dealing with the airs pursued by the latter, as well as by Moore and Sir John Stephenson. It is now proposed by the Irish Literary Society (8 Adelphi Terrace, W. C., London) to publish the entire collection in three parts each, containing about 600 airs, the subscription for all being 12s. 6d., with a limited *édition de luxe*, at one guinea. The editor, Dr. Stanford, proposes thus to give back in purely melodic form the riches of this vast treasure house, precisely as Dr. Petrie collected them from the people.

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For the simple and eloquent pathos of it we reprint the description of Petrie's manner of collecting. It is borrowed from Dr. Stokes by the poet Alfred Perceval Greaves, and deserves a wider circulation:

"Some of these airs were sent to Petrie by personal friends, such as Thomas Davis the patriot, William Allingham the poet, Frederick Burton

the painter, and Patrick MacDowell the sculptor, 'whilst physicians, students, parish priests, Irish scholars and college librarians all aided in the good work. But most of Petrie's airs have been noted by himself from the singing of the people, the chanting of some poor ballad-singer, the song of the emigrant,—of peasant girls while milking their cows or performing their daily round of household duty,—from the playing of wandering musicians, or from the whistling of farmers and ploughmen.' And this description is typical of the method by which the airs were obtained, in this instance on the islands of Aran :

"Inquiries having been made as to the names of persons "who had music," that is, who were known as possessing and singing some of the old airs, an appointment was made with one or two of them to meet the members of the party at some cottage near to the little village of Kirlonan, which was their headquarters. To this cottage, when evening fell, Petrie, with his manuscript, music-book and violin, and always accompanied by his friend, Prof. Eugene O'Curry, used to proceed.

"Nothing could exceed the strange picturesqueness of the scenes which night after night were thus presented.

"On approaching the house, always lighted up by a blazing turf fire, it was seen to be surrounded by the islanders, while its interior was crowded by figures, the rich colors of whose dresses, heightened by the firelight, showed with a strange vividness and variety, while their fine countenances were all animated with curiosity and pleasure.

"It would have required a Rembrandt to paint the scene. The minstrel—sometimes an old woman, sometimes a beautiful girl or a young man—was seated on a low stool in the chimney corner, while chairs for Petrie and O'Curry were placed opposite, the rest of the crowded audience remaining standing. The song having been given, O'Curry wrote the Irish words, when Petrie's work began. The singer recommenced, stopping at every two or three bars of the melody to permit the writing of the notes, and often repeating the passage until it was correctly taken down, and then going on with the melody, exactly from the point where the singing was interrupted. The entire air being at last obtained, the singer—a second time—was called to give the song continuously, and when all corrections had been made, the violin—an instrument of great sweetness and power—was produced, and the air played as Petrie alone could play it, and often repeated.

"Never was the inherent love of music among the Irish people more shown than on this occasion; they listened with deep attention, while their heartfelt pleasure was expressed, less by exclamations than by gestures; and when the music ceased, a general and murmured conversation in their own language, took place, which would continue until the next song was commenced.'

15. Irish Texts Society Publications.—There was founded, two years ago, in London, an association for the publication of ancient Irish texts in the original, with introductions, English translations and notes. It was intended to reach two classes of readers; the large and increasing numbers of those who are interested in the history, laws, and literature of their native country, and the scientific class, philologists, archaeologists, etc. Hence, two sets of publications seemed necessary, one from 1600 A. D. to our own time, and another including the Middle-Irish texts. Two volumes (7s-6d each for subscribers) have appeared, in very tasty form, creditable specimens of the book-maker's art. They are: "The Adventures of the Children of the King of Norway," by Donglass Hyde; "The Feast of Bricrin," by George Henderson, M. A., Ph. D. (The Irish Texts Society, 8 Adelphi Terrace, W. C., London.)

The following tentative list of proposed volumes, in addition to those already mentioned, will best illustrate the varied scope of the work which the society hopes to undertake:—

(A) **Early Texts.** The earliest version of the *Lebor Gabala*, together with the poems of *Eochaid hua Flainn* and other antiquaries of the tenth and eleventh centuries upon which it is based. *Táin Bó Cúailnge*. *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*. The genealogical collections in the great mediæval vellums. The mediæval grammatical treatises; these are of great interest to students of language.

(B) **Modern Texts.** *Historic Legend*: *Oidheadh Mhuirchertaigh mhic Earca*; or *The Death of Murtach, son of Erc*. *Sluaigheadh Dathi*; or *the Expedition of Dathi to the Alps*. *Ossianic Legend*: *Tóruigheacht Shaidhbhe*; or *the Pursuit of Sadhbh*. *Irish Arthurian Romance*: *Eachtra an Mhadra Mhaoil*; or *The Adventures of the Hairless Dog*. *Ridire an leomhain*; or *The Knight of the Lion*. *Modern Romance*: *Eachtra mhic na mi-chómhairle*; or *the Adventures of the Son of Ill-Connel*, by Carol O'Daly. *Satiric Literature*: *The Parliament of Clan Lopus*.

16. Who are the Galatians of St. Paul?—Few points of New Testament history have been more discussed in the last decade than the habitat of those Galatians to whom St. Paul addressed his epistle. Did they live in Northern Galatia, as might seem clear from Acts xvi, 6, and xviii, 23, or did they live in Southern Galatia, in Pisidia and Lycaonia, as is implied in Acts xiii? In other words, were they remnants of the Keltic invaders of the third century B. C. or Roman and Romanized colonists? The latest important work on this subject is from the pen of Dr. Valentine Weber, professor of theology in the University of Würzburg (*Die Abfassung des Galaterbriefes vor dem Apostelkonzil, Grundlegende Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Urchristenthums und des*

Lebens Pauli, Ravensburg, 1900; Herrmann Kitz, 8°, pp. xvi + 405, 5 marks). He comes to the conclusion that the Epistle to the Galatians was written to the Christian Roman communities of Pisidia and Lycaonia, in Southern Galatia, and that before the Council of Jerusalem (A. D. 50-51, cf. Acts xv, 4-30). It was written from Antioch in Syria, and was the outcome of the events related in Acts xiv, notably of the last two verses. On this hypothesis the apparent historical antilogies of the Acts and the Epistle of St. Paul disappear. There is no longer any contradiction between the account of the Council in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts and that given in the authentic words of St. Paul (Gal. ii 1-10). The Epistle to the Galatians was written before the Council, and refers to an earlier and particular stage of the questions that were later authoritatively settled at the Council. This opinion is not a new one, but Dr. Weber claims to have first provided for it an irrefragable framework of defense. While differing from some views and statements of Professor Ramsay, we may indicate his scholarly and reverent book, "The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170" (Putnam's, 1893), as an excellent preparation for this discussion.

17. Photographical Reproductions of Best Codices of Greek and Latin Writers.—The publishing house of A. W. Sijthoff (Leyden, Holland) deserves well of all friends of classical learning for the splendid series of (12) "Codices Photographice Depicti," which they are bringing out. So far they have printed exact photographical reproductions of the Codex Sarravianus—Colbertinus (Saec V.) of the Old Testament in Greek; the Codex Bernensis, 363, containing fragments of St. Augustine, the Venerable Bede, Ovid, the Odes of Horace, and the grammatical works of Servius and others; the Codex Clarkianus Oxoniensis, 39, of Plato; the Codex Heidelbergensis, 1613 (Palatinus C.), of Plautus. They offer at present the Codex Venetus A (Marcianus, 454), of the Iliad, and propose to issue shortly Codices Florentini Medicei, 68.1, and 68.2, of Tacitus, and Codex Ambrosianus, H. 75 inf. of Terentius. This is at once a delicate and costly undertaking, but fraught with great utility for the exact study of classical texts as well as for the sciences of textual criticism and palaeography. These six noble quartos cost about three hundred and fifty dollars, and would make a memorable gift to the Greek and Latin libraries of the University, serviceable for all time, and absolutely equivalent to the possession of the codices themselves. A similar undertaking in Ireland first placed the great mediæval "Books" of Ballymote, of Leinster, of the Dun Cow and others at the disposal of the learned in every land.

18. A New Review for Ecclesiastical History.—MM. A. Cauchie, professor of Church history, and P. Ladeuze, professor of Patrology in the

University of Louvain, have undertaken a grave but welcome task in the publication of a "*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*." The Rector of the University is honorary president of the body of professors of Christian history and literature who have taken on themselves this yoke. At first sight one might wonder why another review was needed in a country that is rightly proud of the "*Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*," the "*Analecta Bollandiana*," the "*Revue Bénédictine*," and many others. But none of these possess that general comprehensive character which should mark a review specially destined to Church history. Moreover, in this century the field of that science has grown enormous,—origins of Christianity, doctrine, constitution, literature, cultus, discipline, relation with civil authorities, action on civilization, old and new; the criticism of divergent and powerful historical schools,—all these offer many new view-points, so many reasons for the creation of a unified and orderly knowledge, not only in the minds of students, but in a very particular way, in the minds of professors and persons devoted to special research.

The purpose of the "*Revue*" is stated as follows: "It will deal with the history of every Christian people from the death of Jesus Christ to our own day. Nothing that concerns the inner or outer life of the Church will be foreign to it." It proposes fidelity to the best methods of historical study, especially as developed in the nineteenth century, likewise to the excellent traditions of former professors of that worthy school which M. Kurth lately called "the most powerful scientific citadel that the Church has built in this century."

The "*Revue*" appears in quarterly issues of about 160 pages each. Four numbers have already been printed, and they justify amply the hopes of its friends. They contain lengthy original studies on various points of ecclesiastical history, miscellaneous contributions of minor interest, on points of detail, extensive bibliographies according to countries and subjects of the current literature of ecclesiastical history, analysis and criticisms of the best works appearing on subjects connected with the Church's history, well-digested and apposite information on all points relative to ecclesiastical history, schools, teaching, methods, etc. We extend a hearty welcome to this last-comer in the immense family of scientific reviews. Soon no Catholic teacher of history will be able to dispense with its help or its counsels. It deserves the sympathy and co-operation of all who are interested in Catholic teaching, or who desire to see the action of the Church on the world scientifically illustrated from the view-point of history, now, as ever, "*testis temporum, magistra vitæ lux veritatis*." (Louvain, Charles Peeters, Libraire-Editeur, \$3 yearly.)

19. *Selected Letters of St. Jerome*.—Nowhere in Christian antiquity does the personal note, the note of conviction, ring out as in the correspon-

dence of the great Dalmatian. It was a happy thought of M. J. B. Charpentier, honorary inspector of the Academy of Paris, to collect those letters of the illustrious Doctor of the Scriptures, which he wrote to Marcella, Eustochium, Paulinus, Pammachius, and other noble and enthusiastic souls who had gathered about him at Rome, and thenceforth could not do without his conversation. The letters are accompanied by an introduction and a good French translation, so that the book ought to make a suitable exercise-manual for the upper classes of Latin and French in our academies and convent-schools. (Paris, Garnier.)

20. Kirchenlexikon of Wetzer and Welte.—This indispensable work has reached its eleventh volume, and the end is in sight. It was first begun by that man of great faith and high principles, Benjamin Herder, whose life has been told in so Christian a style by Father Albert Weiss, O. P. Its first edition marked a new period for Catholic literature in Germany. It was a collective effort and revealed to the Catholic writers of that land their own capacities, also their needs and their weaknesses. Many years since a second edition was necessary, and was undertaken by the original proprietors, the printing-house of Herder, at Freiburg in Baden. Cardinal Hergenroether was chosen as editor, and after him Dr. Kaulen, an eminent scriptural scholar. The work covers the entire field of ecclesiastical sciences, but after the known manner of encyclopædias. Church history and patrology, Christian institutions and biography have naturally a large part in the "nomenclator" or list of articles that comprise this monumental work. It should be on the shelves, at least of every institutional library. Its articles are all written with care and good method, and have usually an excellent choice biography of original sources and the best and latest "literature."

21. Von Funk's Essays on Church History.—Every lover of Church History will welcome the publication by Dr. Funk, Professor of Church History in the Catholic Faculty of Theology in the University of Tübingen (Ferdinand Schöning, Paderborn, 2 vols., 1897-1899, pp. v. + 516; iv + 482). The following translations of the titles of these essays will show sufficiently the breadth of their purpose:

Vol. I.—The Primacy of the Roman See according to Ignatius and Justin; Episcopal Elections in Christian Antiquity and in the Early Middle Ages; the Convocation of the Ancient Ecumenical Synods; the Papal Confirmation of the first eight General Councils; Celibacy and Marriage of Priests in Antiquity; On the Early Christian Penitential Discipline; the Penitential "Stations" in Antiquity; the grades of Catechumens in Antiquity; the Eucharistic "Elements" in Justin; the Communion Rite; Titus Flavius Clemens a Christian, not a Bishop; the Rescript of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus; the Thirty-sixth Canon of the Synod

of Elvira; the Date of the First Synod of Arles; the Basilides of the Philosophoumena was no Pantheist; on the Catalogue of Popes in Hegesippus; on the History of the Early British Church; the Decree on Papal Elections (c. 28, dist. 63); on the Origin of the Actual Baptismal Rite; on the Bull "Unam Sanctam," Martin V. and the Council of Constance.

Volume II contains no less varied and instructive material: Constantine the Great and Christianity; John Chrysostom and the Curia of Constantinople; Clement of Alexandria on Family and Property; Trade and Industry in Christian Antiquity; on the Date of the Epistle of Barnabas; on the Didaché, its date and relation to similar writings; on the Chronology of Tatian; on the Date of the "True Word" of Celsus; on the Authorship of the Philosophoumena; on the Pfaffian Irenæus-Fragments; on the Work "Adversus Aleatores"; the Apostolic Church-Ordinances; A Supposititious Saying of Saint Basil the Great on the Cultus of Images; the Pseudo-Justin "Expositio Rectæ Fidei;" the last two books of Saint Basil the Great, "Adversus Eunomium"; the twelve "Capitula" on Faith attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus; on the Acta Ignatii; Pseudo-Ignatius an Apollinarian; the Date of the Apostolic Constitutions; Gerson and Gersen; the author of the "Imitation of Christ"; the Question of Galileo.

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These essays represent an unbroken mental activity of more than twenty-five years. Most of them were first printed in the admirable "Theologische Quartalschrift," of Tübingen, in whose pages a Drey, a Möhler and a Hefele taught the learned world to look not only for learning and criticism, but also for a high sense of personal responsibility in the handling of historical questions at once grave and delicate. But these writings are far from exhausting the merits of Dr. Von Funk. Besides his daily solicitude as a teacher, developing the minds of numerous young ecclesiastics, he has found time to give us, among other works, an excellent edition of the Apostolic Fathers,—after that of Hefele, but all his own,—a History of Usury in Christian Antiquity, a serviceable Manual of Church History, and a most remarkable study on the "Apostolic Constitutions." Among Church historians he is remarkable for a fine critical sense in all that appertains to the early Christian literature, notably that section of it which is made up of the documents concerning Church government, nearly all of which are shrouded under the veil of apocryphalness, and much of which at some remote date passed through the hands of heretics, or heretically inclined writers. His writing, in general, is marked by a severe acribia, by a faithful adherence to the original sources of Church history, and by constant use of the stern dis-

cipline of philology. Some of these essays have provoked adverse criticism from his confreres, notably those on the Convocation of the Earliest General Councils and the Celibacy of the Clergy. In others he has made a notable critical contribution to ecclesiastical history, as in those on Constantine, on the work of St. Basil against Eunomius and on the Apollinarism of the writer who compiled the Long Recension of the Epistles of Saint Ignatius and the "Apostolic Constitutions." In the contents of these "Essays" the reader will note with pleasure something like an echo of the principal discussions on Church History that have occupied the mind of theological Germany in the past generation.

21. A New Philosophical Review.—An encouraging sign of the interest which Catholics are taking in the intellectual movement of the day is the appearance of the "*Revue de Philosophie*," the first number of which was issued in December. It is edited by M. E. Peillaube, with the co-operation of well known writers. Its purpose is to study the relations which subsist between the various sciences and philosophy, and thereby to aid in the unification of knowledge.

The main articles of this number are: J. Bulliot, "*Le Problème Philosophique*"; Paul Tauney, "*Un Nouveau Fragment d'Héraclite*"; Thomas Dubosq, "*Théorie des Beaux-Arts*"; De Lapparent, "*Christallographie*"; P. Duhem, "*La Notion de Mixte*". A review of Ruyssen's work on Kant is contributed by E. Beurlier and a bulletin of philosophical teaching by the editor.

We are fully in sympathy with the aims of this publication, and we note with pleasure the breadth and elevation which characterize its initial number. It will certainly render important service not only by its effort to harmonize the results of investigation and speculation but also by uniting the intellectual forces which, in France as elsewhere, feel the need of co-operation. The "*Revue*" will be issued bi-monthly and will contain, on an average, 128 pages. The subscription price is 15 francs, payable to Messrs G. Carré et C. Naud, 3, rue Racine, Paris.

A DOCTORATE IN THEOLOGY.

An Examination for the Doctorate in Theology.—Our usual routine of academic life was interrupted by an event of more than ordinary interest,—the public oral examination of the Rev. Charles F. Aiken, S. T. L., for the Doctorate in Sacred Theology. This examination took place in the "Aula" of the McMahon Hall on Tuesday and Wednesday, November 27 and 28, and was continued three hours each day. For the Doctorate in Theology at the University it is required that at least two years must elapse after the candidate has obtained the Licentiate in Theology. He shall then present for publication a printed original dissertation, usually from two hundred to four hundred pages, and embodying the results of personal investigation on some special subject, and written according to the most approved methods of scientific and critical research. This work must be submitted to the faculty for approval before the candidate is allowed to undergo the ordeal of a public examination.

Dr. Aiken's dissertation is entitled "The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ." The purpose of the work is to prove that our four canonical Gospels were not in any way written under the influence of Buddhistic traditions, which some modern writers say were brought into Hither Asia and Europe during the first and second centuries of the Christian era by Hindoo or other Buddhistic missionaries, and incorporated into the New Testament books, especially the Gospels. One distinguishing feature of this work is that it devotes several preliminary chapters to a relatively exhaustive exposition of the peculiar doctrines of Brahminism and Buddhism, of which little more than the mere name is known to the general reader.

As to methods, the work exhibits throughout the clearest evidences of critical acumen, of solid learning, and of the true historical instinct which plays so important a role at the present day in all studies of this character. The style of language is so clear, so simple, and in English so idiomatic that it will be a pleasure to read the book. It is an important contribution to Catholic apologetics.

Besides his published dissertation, Dr. Aiken presented seventy-five theses from all departments of theology, but chiefly from his specialty, apologetics. Now on this dissertation, and now on these theses, the candidate was subjected to a rigorous examination, the theses being taken up quite at haphazard.

The proceedings were opened and closed by the Right Rev. Rector, Monsignor Conaty, who also presided. At the end he thanked the visit-

ing examiners for coming, some of them from a long distance, to take part in the examination, and congratulated Dr. Aiken on the success with which he had come forth from the searching ordeal.

Among the examiners present were: Very Rev. Charles P. Grannan, D. D., Dean of the Faculty; Very Rev. Thomas Bouquillon, D. D.; Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D. D.; Rev. Edmund T. Shanahan, D. D.; Rev. John T. Creagh, D. D., all of the Theological Faculty of the University; Rev. John T. Tierney, D. D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Mount St. Mary's College, Emmittsburg, Md.; Rev. Francis J. Sollier, S. M., D. D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Marist College, Washington, D. C.; Rev. A. A. Tanquary, S. S., D. D., Professor of Moral Theology at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. A. P. Brosnan, S. J., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Woodstock College, Md.; Rev. James F. Driscoll, S. S., D. D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, N. Y.; Rev. George J. Lucas, D. D., Blossburg, Pa.; and Rev. James J. Fox, D. D., Professor of Philosophy at St. Thomas' (Paulist) College, Washington, D. C.; besides many others of the Rev. Clergy among the audience.

That almost the entire student body of the Theological Faculty were present and kept their places to the end of each day's performance, though lasting three hours a day, shows the interest taken in the proceedings to the very close. At the conclusion of the second day's examination, professors and students alike heartily congratulated Dr. Aiken on the vigor with which he had borne himself during the trying ordeal, and on the success with which he had repelled the attacks of the formidable array of learning with which he was confronted.

Father Aiken was born in Boston, and received his early training in Somerville, a suburb of Boston. In 1880 he entered Harvard University, where he graduated in 1884, receiving the A. B. He subsequently entered Brighton Seminary, Boston, where he made a complete course of philosophy and theology, and was ordained priest in 1890. On entering the Catholic University he obtained the degree of S. T. B., but at the end of his two years' course, on account of ill health, he made no attempt to obtain the Licentiate in Theology. After spending three years on the mission in the city of Boston, he accepted the invitation of the University to associate himself with the Faculty of Theology. To prepare himself for his future work he went to Europe, where he continued his studies at the Universities of Berlin, Louvain, and Tübingen. Returning to the Catholic University in 1896, he won the Licentiate in 1897, with a dissertation on the "Avesta and the Bible," an essay that had the honor of being printed in the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY BULLETIN, reprinted in the *Christian Literature Magazine*, and was the subject of a

very complimentary notice in the *Muston* of Louvain. For the last three years he has been lecturing as Instructor on Apologetics at the Catholic University. Dr. Aiken has devoted his energies to the study of theology exclusively for ten years and a half.

Saturday, December 15, at 5 o'clock P. M., the degree of Doctor of Theology was formally conferred on Dr. Aiken in the assembly room of the McMahon Hall by His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, Chancellor of the University, in the presence of all the faculties and students and of the affiliated colleges. Mgr. Conaty opened the proceedings with an address, in which he spoke of the excellent moral character and academic acquirements of Dr. Aiken; after this the Dean, in the name of the Faculty, and the General Secretary, in the name of the Academic Senate, presented and recommended the candidate to the Chancellor as having complied with all the requirements for the degree. Towards the close of the ceremony, which was simple but impressive, Dr. Aiken knelt and made the profession of faith and took the oath required on all such occasions. The candidate was then formally invested by the Cardinal with the insignia of the doctorate, the robe and hood, the ring and cap, together with the diploma, and declared a Doctor. In conclusion he delivered a brief discourse appropriate to the occasion. He is the fourth to receive the Doctorate in Theology at the University in twelve years.

SOLEMN OPENING OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

On Thursday, November 22, Trinity College was solemnly dedicated. His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons blessed the buildings. Pontifical Mass was celebrated by the papal delegate, Archbishop Martinelli, with Rev. Timothy Brosnahan, of Waltham, Mass., deacon; Rev. Dr. Rooker, sub-deacon, and Rev. James T. O'Reilly, O. S. A., assistant priest. Very Rev. William Byrne, D. D., Vicar-General of Boston, and Very Rev. Dr. O'Hara, president of Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, were the deacons of the Mass. His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons occupied the throne at the left of the altar, with Very Rev. Dr. Dumont, S. S., and Rev. Owen Clark, of Providence, as deacons of honor.

Assisting at the services were Right Rev. A. Van de Vyver, Bishop of Richmond; Right Rev. John J. Farley, Bishop of New York; Right Rev. P. J. Donohue, Bishop of Wheeling, and Right Rev. Mgr. Nugent, of Liverpool, England. Among the many distinguished guests were Miss Cary Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, and Mr. William T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education. A large number of priests filled the sanctuary. The Catholic University was strongly represented, as were also the leading religious orders.

Mr. William J. Marr and the seminarists of Holy Cross College had charge of the ceremonies of the Mass; Rev. John J. Burke, C. S. P., the ceremonies of the dedication.

Dumont's sixth tone Gregorian Mass and the chant of the ritual were sung by a choir of seventeen Paulists, under the direction of Mr. William J. Finn and Mr. Charles P. Casserly.

The reception committee was composed of Gen. Thomas M. Vincent, U. S. A.; Dr. Maurice Francis Egan, of the Catholic University, and Mr. A. A. Wilson. The ushers were Mr. Jules Boeufve, of the French embassy; Prof. Albert Francis Zahm, of the Catholic University; Count Baudoin de Lichtervelde, of the Belgian Legation; Mr. Howard, and Mr. Fitzgerald.

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The sermon was by Right Rev. Mgr. Conaty, D. D., Rector of the Catholic University. We give the following extracts:

"With thy comeliness and thy beauty set out, proceed prosperously and reign, because of truth and meekness and justice, and thy right hand shall conduct thee wonderfully."—Psalms xlv., 5.

"It is no ordinary occasion which could gather here the most eminent ecclesiastics of our country, the accredited representatives of many

nations, men and women from the highest ranks of life, all to unite in begging God to bless these walls dedicated to religion and science under the invocation of the Holy Trinity and the instruction of the Sisters of Notre Dame. To establish a Catholic college for young women is of the utmost importance to Church and State, for it means not only additional opportunities for liberal culture, but, what is of more vital import, it makes clear that liberal culture, to be of value, must find its soul, its informing and vivifying principle in religion, as made known to us by Jesus Christ through the Church which He established among us. Every school built upon the principle of right education is a blessing to the community, for right education is one of the greatest gifts which God can bestow upon man. . . .

"In an age when intellectualism is being unjustly and rudely divorced from the supernatural, when religion is asserted to be a vague, indeterminate, unessential quality in advanced knowledge, it is important that Christian schools of higher study should open their doors to the training of women along the lines of intellectual development, side by side with the piety and simplicity of intelligent Christian faith. . . .

"Who will question the advantage which the college offers to women? . . . The college woman, the Catholic college-bred woman, must be a force for truth and life and light. She must be an influence for virtue in all spheres of endeavor. While keeping pace with the demands of an intellectual womanhood, she is trained according to the principles of a philosophy which believes in God, and a psychology which builds itself upon belief in an immortal soul. We need women of culture; but in them should be found the goodness which comes from practical virtue.

"The student of education and educational methods will find abundant food for study in the annals that tell the history of the founders of those great religious institutes for women which have sent forth into the educational life of the Church consecrated virgins, whose one ideal is Christ, and whose one aim in education is to make Christ rule in the mind and in the heart of the people. Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, Augustinians, and Ursulines, Visitandines, and Sisters of Charity, Sisters of Mercy and Loretines, Presentation and Providence, Holy Cross, Sacred Heart and Notre Dame—their names are legion, and their work is known best by the God whom they reverently serve. A Teresa, a Gertrude, an Angela Merici, a Jane Frances de Chantal, a Madame Barat, a Mother Seton, a Mother McAuley, a Madame Le Gras, a Nano Nagle, a Mother Clark, a Mother Ross, a Mother Katherine Drexel, a Mother Angela, a Mother Lalor, a Julie Billiart,—these are the names of noble women, full of faith and character, who have done wonders in the work of Christian education among Catholic women. Thus may be

seen not only the desire for intellectual culture among Catholic women of the highest sanctity, but also the Church encouraging and rewarding them with most distinguished honors. . . .

"It is, indeed, refreshing to see Trinity College for women rise side by side with our great University in the very Capital of the nation, to assert before the whole world that true education, true learning, true development is that which leads to a better knowledge of God, and that Christian womanliness and Christian scholarship may go hand in hand to make the cultured Christian woman the glory of the Church and the salvation of the State. . . .

"To the Sisters of Notre Dame, in the joy of the dedication of Trinity, we offer sincere congratulations.

"Twenty-five years of my priestly life have been spent in close contact with your educational life, and in justice I am forced to say that you have never attempted what you could not do, and what you have done has been done thoroughly. To Superior Julia and the Sisters of Trinity our best wishes for success. To Trinity the University gives greetings as to a younger sister. It bids her enter upon the work, trusting in God for the blessing that will bring success. *Vivat, floreat, crescat.*"

This auspicious event will be welcomed by all who are interested in the efforts of woman to secure a suitable share in the intellectual development of our time. Hitherto the Catholic Church possessed many excellent schools and academies for the education of young women. There was none, however, that had for its formal aim a post-graduate course of studies and training. The need of such an institution was felt by Catholics in all parts of the United States; since its foundation the University has been constantly approached on the subject. It is, therefore, a cause for sincere rejoicing that Trinity College has at last opened its doors. Though a separate and independent institution, its vicinity to the University, and the kindred purpose of its teachers and students create from the beginning strong bonds of sympathy and goodwill. Practically, both institutions begin their career with the dawning of the twentieth century. It is hoped that the closing decade of the same will behold the assured success of two most advanced educational enterprises, based on the union of religion and science.

Trinity College has the approval of the Catholic hierarchy and of Our Holy Father the Pope. It becomes, therefore, the duty of Catholic parents who seek a post-graduate instruction for their daughters, to consider its claims; and to send thither their children. Within its walls, they will further develop their minds and hearts in a Catholic atmosphere, surrounded with all the safeguards that

are demanded by female youth and innocence. It is not a school without discipline,—yet the latter is of the firm and motherly type, suited to the age and character of the students. Its year-books will show the high grade of teaching offered. The present building is well adapted to the purposes for which it was erected, and wants no improvements that experience has shown to be useful. As circumstances permit, other buildings will arise, and all the means of study will be increased and perfected. The grounds are high and healthy, extensive and beautiful, comprising some thirty acres, with a lovely outlook upon the city of Washington and the valley of the Potomac, and bordering on the noble park of the Soldier's Home. The electric cars pass the portal of the College at frequent intervals on their way from the Treasury to Brookland. Twenty-three students form the first class of the new institution. They come from all parts of the United States, and from as many convents and academies. It is the prayer of all friends of religious education that the number of students may constantly increase until the success of this holy undertaking be put beyond doubt.

THE FIVE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CRACOW.

We present the correspondence between the ancient illustrious University of Cracow, in Austrian-Poland, and our own University, apropos of the Quincentenary Celebration of the foundation of Cracow. They are an evidence of identity of purpose, and also of the deep good-will that should reign between all learned bodies devoted to the advancement of science and religion :

I.

"AMPLISSIMO SENATUI UNIVERSITATIS CATHOLICAE AMERICANAE, RECTOR
ET SENATUS UNIVERSITATIS CRACOVENSIS, S. P. D.

"Universitas nostra, quae A. D. 1364 a Casimiro Magno condita, anno vero 1400 a Vladislao Jagellone Poloniae rege reformata felix faustumque cepit incrementum, ut populis, qui orientis incolunt oras per longam temporum seriem veritatis et humanitatis faciem praeferret, hoc anno, die septima mensis Junii memoriam quinquens saecularem instaurationis suae est celebratura.

"Quem quidem nuntium eo consilio Vobiscum his litteris communicamus, ut huius diei sollemnia votis Vestris prosequamini unumque aut duos viros ex Vestro praeclarissimo coetu mittatis praesentia sua festum illud saeculare ornatos et nobilitaturos.

"Cui invitationi nostrae, si obsequi dignemini, per nobis gratum erit, si quem vel quos mittere Vobis placuerit, ante Kalendas Maias certiores nos faciatis.

"Dabamus Cracoviae Idibus Martiis A. D. MDCCCC.

"(Sig.) STANISLAUS COMES TARNOWSKI,
"Universitatis Cracoviensis Rector."

II.

"UNIVERSITAS CATHOLICA AMERICAЕ, SEPTENTRIONALIS UNIVERSITATI
CRACOVENSIS, SALUTEM.

"Ad nos litteras quas misistis, quamquam e nostris praesto non sint qui nostrum erga Vos aliamque Universitatem vestram recurrente hoc anno quingentesimo animum ostendant, tamen nobis scitote iucundissimas fuisse. Haud sane nobis ignotum Magnum Lycaeum Cracoviense, intra

cuins aulas a saeculis viri eximii florere, et tam multi iique optimi et bene merentes iuvenes, quasi florentissima hominum doctissimorum seges, opportuna media quibus nobilem scientiae cupiditatem libentius explorare poterint, praestituta sibi habuere. Horum omnium haud certe immemores, quos non longinquitas temporis minuit, futuris iis quae dies allatura sit, animos maiorum exemplo paratos habeatis. Incepta itaque vestra quae celebratis, secundo laetoque exitu in bonum scientiae et religionis fortunet Deus, atque votorum laudemque cumulo undequaque ad Vos pervenientium, addite et nostrum in eximiae nostrae erga Vos voluntatis pignus.

“(Sig.) DANIEL GUILLELMUS SHEA,
“*Secretarius Generalis.*

“Dabamus Washingtonii Idibus Maii, A. D. MDCCCC.
“THOMAS JACOBUS CONATT,
“*Universitatis Rector.*”

“RECTOR ET SENATUS UNIVERSITATIS CRACOVENSIS RECTORI ET SENATUI
UNIVERSITATIS CATHOLICAE AMERICANAE, S. P. D.

“In dies magis magisque grata recordatione fruimur spectaculi laeti et jucundi, quod quinta saecularia almae matris Jagellonicae praebuerunt mense superiore celebrata, animosque erigunt et ad laetitiam excitant honores eximii in venerabilem Universitatem effusi, quam summo studio amplectimur. Memori igitur mente laudes gratesque omnibus agimus, qui gaudio nostro gavisii sunt, singulares vero gratias Vobis, viri illustrissimi persolvimus, quod optimis ominibus solemnia nostra prosequi voluistis. Cujus observantiae nunquam ex animis nostris discedet memoria, neque ulla de ea obmutescet vetustas, quoniam per successorem posteritati tradetur, cui optimum ad humanitatis et litterarum studia colenda incitamentum praestabit. Valet ac nobis favere pergite.

“Dabamus Cracoviae die 10 mensis Julii, MCM.

“STANISLAUS COMES TARNOWSKI, *Rector.*”

NECROLOGY.

Rev. H. B. Langlois.—The University has lost a good friend by the death of Rev. H. B. Langlois, of Louisiana. He was a native of France, and for nearly forty-five years a parish priest in Louisiana. He died August 1, of this year, at the parochial residence at St. Martinsville, La. A taste for botany, together with a college course of instruction in that subject, led him, upon his arrival at the scene of his life work as a missionary, to make botanical research the pastime of his leisure hours, with the result that for many years past he has been a most efficient contributor to the knowledge of the plants of that still imperfectly explored region embraced within the boundaries of the vast State of Louisiana. In 1895 Father Langlois presented to the Catholic University the bulk of his then very large and valuable herbarium. The University mourns the death of this generous benefactor, while it feels that science has sustained a very deep loss in one whose life was devoted to its advancement.

Mr. Terrence E. Curren, of Waterbury, Conn., and a student in the Law School during the year 1898-'99, died at Birmingham, Ala., September 18, 1900, aged twenty-six years.

After leaving the University, 1899, Mr. Curren went to Birmingham, Ala., where he passed the bar examination, opened an office, and was doing well in his practice, as his brother states, being introduced by some influential people of Birmingham. He fell ill with typhoid fever early in September, and died in St Joseph's Hospital in that city after an illness of ten days.

Mr. Michael Charles McCarthy, A. B., of Marquette, Mich., entered the University October 4, 1899, from St. Ignatius' College, Chicago, Ill., for the study of law. He left the University on account of ill health at Easter, 1900; died of consumption at Marquette, aged twenty-three years.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Public Lectures at Carroll Institute Hall.—The Fall Course of Public lectures was given this year at Carroll Institute Hall. Prof. William C. Robinson, LL. D., delivered the opening lecture on Wednesday, November 21, at 4.30 P. M., on "Prehistoric Law." Prof. Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., spoke, November 28, of "Justinian the Great." Honorary Prof. Carroll D. Wright, LL. D., delivered two lectures, December 4 and 11, on "Economic-Social Problems." The lectures were very well attended, and the University is encouraged to offer the Winter Course in the same hall. For its use the University returns an expression of gratitude to the gentlemen of the Carroll Institute who, with their usual courtesy, placed it at our disposal.

Patronal Feast of the Catholic University.—The Feast of the Immaculate Conception was celebrated December 8. Very Rev. Dr. Dumont, S. S., president of Divinity Hall, celebrated the Mass. Rev. Mr. Ryan, of St. Paul, was deacon, and Rev. Mr. Stinson, of Boston, sub-deacon. The sermon was delivered by Rev. Dr. Maguire, assistant professor of Latin.

Dr. Richard Henebry, Associate Professor of Gaelic Literature at the University, has been obliged, on account of his health, to ask for a year's leave of absence. Dr. Henebry has not sufficiently recovered from an illness that troubled him the greater part of last year. He staid at the University for a week or more, on his way to Colorado, where there is every reason to believe he will obtain complete restoration to health. His associates at the University deeply regret the conditions which require his absence, and earnestly pray that he may regain his health. Dr. Henebry has published during the year the following studies in Gaelic philology: The Renehan "air" texts, translations, and lexicographical notes; Betha Columbo Cille, being the tract called "The O'Donnell Life of Columbkille," edited from the manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with translations and notes, Part I. Both of these studies appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Keltische Philologie* of Halle, for 1900. He published also in the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* for March, 1900, "A Metrical Translation of the Dnan Chridi Isu Tadh Goidlach."

Mr. Henry Austin Adams.—The Right Reverend Rector of the University has authorized Dr. Henry Austin Adams to solicit donations in the interest of the general University fund. There are many Catholics throughout the country willing to assist the University according to their means, but they are reluctant to send to the authorities what they con-

sider trivial amounts. Such friends may be reached by authorized solicitors. Besides this, there is a very strong feeling among Catholic laymen that it is their duty to help in the development of the University, for they realize that the University is doing excellent work in the field of higher education. All that is necessary is that they should be reached through appeals made to the individual. Dr. Adams is a lecturer of national reputation, who has already acquired wide acquaintance with Catholic laymen in all sections of our country, and his generous offer to assist in building up a general University fund has been gratefully accepted. He has unusual opportunities in which to quietly urge the importance of aiding, even by small donations, the University development. His work will help toward caring not only for the expenses of the University, but also for the development of University work in the libraries and laboratories.

Lectures on Literature and Religion of the Ancient Irish.—Though it is not possible at present to fill Dr. Henebry's place at the University, the Rector has been in correspondence with Dr. F. N. Robinson, Professor of Gaelic at Harvard University, and has made with him an engagement to give, in the week beginning April 14, a course of five lectures on Gaelic literature. These lectures, while not narrowly technical, will still be somewhat popular in character. They will deal with the present state of Keltic studies, giving a general sketch of Irish literature, Druidism and the Religion of the Ancient Kelts, and discussing the principal hero tales that are found in the elder and later Saga-Cycle. Dr. Robinson will also treat of the influence of Keltic Literature on English and Continental writers.

Dr. George M. Bolling, Associate Professor of Greek, delivered the following lectures at the Catholic Summer School, Plattsburg, N. Y., July 16-20:

The Scientific Study of Language; Why the Study of Language before Bopp Cannot be Considered Scientific; Bopp's Two Theses: (a) The Unity of the Indo-European Family of Languages; (b) The Doctrine of Agglutination; Application of the Principles of Linguistic Science to the Practical Teaching of Language.

Theological Scholarship for the Diocese of Albany.—Through His Grace the Archbishop of Boston, the University has received from the estate of the late Bishop Conroy the sum of \$5,000 for the foundation of a theological scholarship for the Diocese of Albany.

Very Rev. Clarence Walworth, of Albany, has left by will to the University all those books of his valuable library which the authorities might consider desirable. For this noble deed the University rightly cherishes his memory. R. I. P.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—**ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit.* c. 6.**

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THE STUDY OF PHILOSOPHY.

There is reason to hope that the study of philosophy will eventually receive from Catholic educators the attention which it deserves. As the work of readjustment in college and seminary progresses, the science which forms the upper limit of collegiate courses and the basis of theological studies should certainly have its claims considered. The idea that the educational function of the Church could be performed by a number of isolated institutions, each trying its best if only to fail, is no longer entertained by any one who takes an intelligent view of the situation. It is now generally admitted that the one hope of success in the face of increasing difficulties lies in unification. This means, of course, that there shall be greater uniformity in the requirements for entrance and graduation, more thorough co-ordination of lower schools and higher schools, better preparation of teachers and better methods in their teaching. But the vitalizing element in all this, the inner unification, as it may be called, should not be overlooked. If the association of schools in a system is important, the unification of studies is still more essential. This again implies a common center or source of unity, which can be none other than philosophy.

Theoretically, the value of philosophy is recognized. It is impressed upon the student's mind by those eloquent dissertations *de præstantia et dignitate* which the books put forward as an encouragement and which so often, being remem-

bered, are a source of consolation. More practical views and suggestions, however, are offered from time to time in works of a pedagogical character. Dr. Smith, in "The Training of a Priest," points out quite clearly some of the shortcomings from which philosophy at present suffers, and Dr. Hogan, in his "Clerical Studies," touches on nearly every aspect of the subject.

From these statements of the case by writers of experience, one very obvious conclusion may be drawn: there is practical agreement among teachers of philosophy as to the difficulties which confront them, and there is an earnest desire to have these difficulties removed. But before any plan can be adopted, even as an experiment, another question should be settled. What is the criterion by which we are to test the methods of teaching and of study now in vogue? Upon the answer that is given to this question depends the proper estimate of the various "difficulties" and the value of any proposed remedial measures. If the course in philosophy is mainly intended for the personal benefit of the student, whether this take the form of instruction or the form of education, then those measures are indicated which will impart, within the allotted time, the widest knowledge of the subject and the most thorough intellectual training. The center of work might then be a first-class textbook, and practical exercises might consist chiefly of those "disputations" which help to produce the man of subtle distinctions and ready replies. The student, on this supposition, would not be a passive recipient. He would learn to think and to take large views of every problem. He would acquire, in time, a vast deal of information and merit the name of a "well-posted" man. Recitations and examinations would also have a definite scope, as by these and similar tests, frequently applied, the professor could gauge the abilities and needs both of the individual and of the entire class. Assuming that the professor has such an ideal quite clearly before him, we can easily appreciate his situation and its difficulties; for these arise mainly in the endeavor to graft one sort of culture upon another. The question then emerges: What elements in the college training should be strengthened—the classical, the historical, the mathematical or the scientific,

or all of these? And the chief problem for the professor himself would be the selection and ordering of his philosophic matter in such a way as to further, on a higher plane but without any breach of continuity, the development begun in the college.

If, again, the "average seminarian," as Dr. Smith regards him, is to be confirmed in the notion that philosophy "is merely the preface to dogmatic theology," a somewhat different phase of our question presents itself. Without neglecting altogether the results for culture, now become secondary, the professor feels in duty bound to shape his course primarily in view of what the student will need after he has passed on to another field of study, with methods, sources and criteria quite distinct from those of philosophy. It is not so much the problem *per se* that interests as its bearing upon the higher theological discussions and the service which its solution may render to these. Metaphysics paves the way to "dogma" and ethics is the prelude to moral theology.

That such relations exist, especially since the revival of Scholasticism, no one thinks of denying. On the contrary, it is highly desirable that the teaching of theology should be brought into closer contact with the principles of philosophy. But, at the same time, it is evident that, under these conditions, the task of teaching philosophy is both peculiar and delicate. The professor naturally feels that he is in some way responsible, not only for the groundwork, but also for the entire structure. Whether the students realize it or not, the fact is that he has to be constantly "looking ahead." His principal concern is the harmony between reason and faith; and as faith is unchanging, the preamble thereto gradually settles into certain well-marked lines which finally deepen into grooves.

Here, too, the problem of amelioration is quite definite. The student needs first of all to realize that the abstract concepts which are set before him, in ontology especially, are of vital importance for the understanding of theology. The ideas of being, cause, relation, potency, act and the like, are of themselves sufficiently hard to grasp; but they can be made more tangible if they are forthwith given the meaning and the content which they are to get later on in theology. If, as we

are told, the theologian goes back time after time to certain chapters in philosophy and "brushes up," we can only applaud his desire for thoroughness. It might, however, be well to spare him the trouble of going back or the doubtful pleasure of learning old principles in a new dress, by showing him at the outset the full sweep of what may seem vague and remote.

In the next place, he should be warned that the current objections against theological truth are advanced, for the most part, in the name and in the language of philosophy. One can imagine a student who knows little or nothing of agnosticism and pantheism serenely contemplating the marvels of creation, grace and predestination; but one does not envy him. Nor is he in much better plight if he takes up the study of moral theology without a suspicion that its fundamental concepts are discussed and its principles criticised from every possible point of view. In a word, the habit of taking things for granted in order to enjoy mental comfort is one that should be cured before the treatment in philosophy ceases.

Now, on either of the foregoing assumptions as to the main purpose, no radical change is called for in the study of philosophy. Such modifications as may be required to enhance its educational value or to make it a more suitable preparation for theology, will suggest themselves to every teacher of zeal and experience. They concern the professor rather than the student, and they can be brought about, after consultation with the teachers of theology, in such a way as to preserve the symmetry of the whole seminary course.

Let us suppose that all the recommendations, in whatever spirit they happen to be given, are unanimously adopted: what will be the result? Precisely what it has been all along. By the time the readjustment is effected, philosophy, that is, the philosophy that shapes the world's thinking, will have passed into a new phase, with fresh problems, other methods and other difficulties. Then our successors will delight in stirring up the teachers of philosophy to a due appreciation of the better opportunities for culture and the greater advantage of sound philosophy as a prelude to theology which the twentieth century has made possible. And the "sphere of

influence" which Catholic philosophy now controls will be the same, or, in the event of change, will not expaud.

To those who look on this prospect with complacence or indifference, nothing need be said. But to the earnest men who are striving for the real interests of the Church in our age and in our country, one may offer at least a further suggestion. The true criterion by which all methods of study and all proposed modifications are to be judged, is their fitness for one purpose, the diffusion of philosophical truth. This, in turn, implies that the philosophy which we hold to be true shall not be locked up as a treasure too precious for inspection by the world at large. Whatever utility or power it may have must be appreciated and felt by all men, not by the priesthood alone. As the training of priests necessitates more or less complete withdrawal from the affairs of ordinary life, so, it would almost seem, their studies initiate them into some secret lore which may not be communicated or which shall be utilized only in sacred places. Erroneous impressions of this sort are by no means so detrimental as the very obvious fact that Catholic philosophy does not permeate the thought of the day. It is stored up in excellent manuals, and it peeps out occasionally in periodicals that are read chiefly by Catholics; but it keeps clear of the reviews in which philosophy is scientifically discussed.

Allowance, of course, must be made for the multiplicity of duties which leave the priest so little time for reading and much less for writing. But this does not change the situation. It does not, above all, do away with the fact that even Catholics who take an interest in philosophical questions are apt to form their opinions upon the views which they find in non-Catholic publications. Those "practical" occupations which are generally supposed to far outweigh, in the work of religion, such theoretical pursuits as the discussion of philosophical problems, may some day be less absorbing than they are at present,—for reasons that are sufficiently apparent to one who realizes the power of philosophy as a solvent of belief. Let us put aside, once for all, the false notion that the study of philosophy leads to nothing practical in sacerdotal life, and that, consequently, a considerable portion of the seminary course is merely *pro forma*.

The only way to do this effectually is pointed out by the situation itself. It is useless to urge upon men, after ordination, the importance of spreading the light unless they are taught beforehand how to make the light. The "diffusion of truth" is but a high-sounding phrase if the means of diffusion are neglected. From the very outset the student should understand that it is his duty not only to follow lectures on philosophy, to think about it and talk about it, but also, and principally, to write on philosophical subjects. It is not what a man receives, but what he gives; not his personal improvement, but his share in moulding the thought of the day, that really counts. The myth of the "all-round man," who simply gathers and stores, can no longer be taken seriously. And while vast and profound erudition is unquestionably a blessing, it may be only the sign of a refined selfishness and the cause of mental congestion. At any rate, much that is reported concerning the brilliance, depth and keenness of individual students, has to be accepted on faith if those gifted minds disdain the service of pen and ink.

As a rule, the value of written exercises that supplement lectures and recitations, is appreciated. It is also customary to require written examinations as an evidence that the student has profited by the work of the year or the term. But the essays and papers thus produced rarely get beyond the professor's desk or the limits of the "academy" in which they are discussed. To what extent the current literature of philosophy is a loser cannot be accurately determined; but the effect upon the student is obvious. He naturally takes it for granted that writing for publication is no part of his task. Not that he explicitly formulates any negative resolution on this point; it simply does not occur to him that he shall ever "appear in print." He may even follow with interest the discussions that are conducted in the philosophical periodicals and express admiration for the few Catholic contributors, but there he stops. Others, who in some mysterious way have joined the esoteric cult of the book-makers, will do the work. As for him, *majora premunt*. He goes dutifully and patiently through the two years' course—and passes on to theology.

It is not necessary here to rehearse the well-known expla-

nation of our actual condition. As a glance at the history of this country makes it clear why our philosophy is still for the most part imported, so a fair acquaintance with the circumstances in which the Church has been obliged to work, enables us to explain the fact that we have no extensive literature on philosophy from the Catholic side. It also shows that comparison with what has been done in Europe, especially in Germany, Belgium and France, is of little practical use and may be unfair. Still, in view of the progress that non-Catholic philosophy has recently made in America, we may assume that some change in our methods is desirable. This means, first, that we shall aim more directly at the preparation of writers, and second, that this preparation, for the time being, must be the work of the seminary. If ecclesiastics, for whom philosophy is or should be of the greatest importance, fail to set the example, laymen are not likely to supply the want.

In casting about for means to render study more fruitful, one is tempted to begin with details, such as the better equipment of the student or the wiser division of labor among the teachers or more abundant provision of helps to study in library and reading-room. These, it is true, must not be overlooked; but in order to appreciate them and to derive their full benefit, the position of philosophy in the seminary course must be determined. If the present arrangement is to be continued, *i. e.*, if philosophy is merely to serve as a hyphen between the college and the study of theology, the hope of anything like effectual reform may as well be abandoned. The best efforts on the part of the professor will avail nothing, and the offer of better facilities will scarcely be heeded, so long as the student feels that he is "in transit." During the first two years of his course he has no time for research; during the other three or four years new subjects claim all his attention. When he finally enters upon his mission to a world of thinkers and writers, he is literally as one set apart.

The "reapportionment" whereby philosophy shall get its due share in the work of the seminary, might properly form the subject of discussion in the conferences that are now held annually. Without anticipating any action from that quarter, one may foresee that several steps are possible and necessary.

As a beginning, the expression, "two years of philosophy," should mean two years of philosophy. In some seminaries it means both more and less,—more of other things and less of philosophy. Certain courses in natural science that really belong to the college, are held back for the seminary. Other courses that form parts of the theological curriculum, are pushed forward into the earlier period. With this overlapping from both sides, the lot of philosophy is not a happy one. Even an "ancilla" may reasonably object to serving under such difficulties; and what room is left for the investigation of special problems one can readily imagine.

If it be found impracticable to reserve these two years for philosophy, some compensation might be secured by allowing philosophy a larger range. There is no valid reason for refusing it a place alongside of dogmatic and moral theology in the later years. Such a parallelism would rather prove beneficial to the various courses. The same problems could then be discussed from every point of view, and the student could be taught to draw upon all the sources of information at once. This is just what St. Thomas does in the *Summa Theologica* and what his imitators do when they produce evidence from Scripture, tradition and reason. It is at least worth while considering whether a similar plan is not feasible in adjusting the curriculum.

The advantage for philosophy is plain. Forming an integral part of the course from beginning to end, it would be more likely to retain the interest of some students in each class. Those, at any rate, who have the requisite talent and inclination, would not be hurried on to something else just as they are beginning to do serious work in philosophy. Under the present system, it hardly repays either professor or student to take up a special line of investigation; the case would be different if there were a prospect of pursuing such work during five or six years. If nothing else came of the opportunity for prolonged study, the importance of philosophy would be emphasized. A curriculum is something more than a schedule; it is an object-lesson. To the student it shows quite plainly how the different branches are regarded by those who have a right to judge. Given the impression that any subject belongs

to the once-a-week class, and the ablest teacher will find it difficult to arouse interest. Similarly, when it is felt that a course is merely a vestibule, it will be hard to detain the student on the hither side of the real threshold.

The main object of such an extension is to place something definite before the student as the goal of his efforts. One may freely admit that recitation marks, percentages, notes and examination papers have a value of their own, and one may still desire something more permanent. Why not require, as evidence of work during five years, a carefully prepared essay that could be published with credit to the writer and to the seminary?

Because, no doubt, a good deal more is needed than the extension of the course. Indeed, the extension may turn out to be a lag-and-drag process unless it involves certain minor changes. Besides the general design, we need working plans; and these bring us to the consideration of details.

The proposed scheme, in the first place, does not contemplate the addition of new branches to those that are now included in the course of philosophy. It aims rather at such a distribution as will ensure more thorough treatment for each branch. Thoroughness, again, does not necessarily imply that every problem is to be treated. A careful discussion of typical problems affording practical illustration of methods, is much more useful. It will require of course more time to handle in this way even the essentials of philosophy; and it will call for a selection in which the professor's judgment, not the text-book divisions, must prevail.

The work of each professor will thus be increased, because the number of students will be larger and each student, in the higher classes especially, will need personal direction. Although the teacher of philosophy had too much leisure at present! The truth is, and the trouble, that we have allowed certain numbers to take on an almost sacred or mystic character in counting our seminary teachers. Just so many for theology, just so many for philosophy—and the faculty is complete. It is fortunate that the same plan is not followed in regard to the boundaries of dioceses, the limits of parishes and the appointment of assistants. Division of labor enables every man

to do his work more perfectly : but this is not all. It furthermore invites new laborers and gives them occupation. So long as the notion prevails that two or three instructors can manage the teaching of philosophy, no matter how the science develops and how the classes grow, there will be little inducement, if any, offered to young men who may have the best qualifications for teaching. Nor will the right sort of provision be made for replacing those whose work in the seminary must sooner or later come to a close. It is much better to have a fair number of eligible teachers, even though they be not actually employed, than to depend on the chance of finding a "pretty good" man to whom release from parish work will be agreeable. The matter of selection and promotion will offer no difficulty if the faculty judges by what each candidate has published.

A larger corps of instructors would make it possible to increase the number of class exercises and so keep the student early and late in the lecture-room. This, however, is not desirable. It may even prove injurious by suggesting to the student that his chief business is to hear and admire. But the quality of each lecture admits of variation and improvement indefinitely. To give an abundance of information, is good. To make the lecture a model of order, clearness, and precision, is still better. And to make everything so plain as to leave nothing for the hearer's personal effort—not even a question to ripple the placid surface of his pleased intelligence—means, in the judgment of some, perfection. The experienced teacher, of course, takes a different view. He knows that there are some problems which have not yet been solved, and some difficulties that manage to survive in spite of the keenest distinctions. And then there is the broad field of contemporary thought, which proves its fertility by raising crop after crop of new questions.

A correct method of handling the current literature of philosophy is among the first requisites for profitable study. Of late, progress has been made in this direction by those seminaries which supply the reading-room with the principal reviews. The next step is to see that the readers get the full benefit. Habits of "looking through" or "glancing at" an article, should be discouraged. The tendency to pick out con-

clusions and neglect the processes by which they are reached, calls for correction. The student should realize that a painstaking study of one article will help him more than a hurried reading of many volumes. But if he is to take pains in the right way, he must have some sort of technique. Let him begin, for instance, by noting the methods that are employed in the shorter contributions and in the book reviews; and let him draw up reports of his own according to a definite plan. The plan need not be the same for every student, and it should not be so rigid as to forbid modification. Its first results will naturally bear criticism and revision; but the finished report, telling concisely just what a given article contains, and telling it in English, may well find place in one of the reviews.

A beginning at least will have been made. Thereupon may follow a series of exercises, including summaries of books, critical notices and brief discussions, until the habit of writing for publication is acquired. The process, in its earlier stages, is somewhat mechanical. Perhaps it ought to be made more mechanical in view of the inertia that is to be overcome. But it has, at the same time, an educational value. If, as we have all been told, writing makes the exact man, we may safely add that printing makes the more exact man. A student who might otherwise content himself with rather hazy conceptions and who feels that in oral discussion he can explain one statement by ten other statements, learns quickly enough that more care must be taken with what he prepares for the printer. In fact, the knowledge that his thought is to be put out there under the eyes of that vaguely imagined critic, the world, has too often an inhibitory effect. The motor paths that should issue in action are blocked, and a reaction sets in which checks even the process of thought. In this way all danger of "writer's cramp" is averted; but the resulting thinker's cramp is worse. What we love to call "sound philosophy" is very apt, under these circumstances, to fail of its normal effect simply because the few who have studied it are not prepared to expound and defend it in the open field of critical research.

There is only one antidote for this evil. Of the problem as to how a man shall overcome the dread of writing, we may say—*solvitur scribendo*. Once the student is accustomed to

the thought that he is on record, his former diffidence will give way to the desire of sustaining his position or of having it modified by honest criticism. But his hesitation, it may be said, comes just from the consciousness of his inability to wrestle with the problems of philosophy and to take any "position" which has not been defended and attacked a hundred times over by the world's best thinkers. What can he, a tyro, contribute to the discussions on free-will, immortality and the existence of God? And if he does not handle these questions, why should he waste his time on anything else? Now, while this sophism may be useful as an illustration for certain portions of logic, it should not be allowed to influence the practical reason. The student should learn sometimes that the "ultimate" problems are not the only ones that deserve consideration. The study of those details which he probably overlooks in his anxiety to get at the main thesis, offers abundant exercise to his powers. And if any progress is to be made toward a better understanding and vindication of the fundamental truths, it must come, not through a new summing up of the evidence as a whole, but through a sifting of its items.

Modern text-books render excellent service by mapping out the field of philosophy and by explaining its methods. They are, to a certain extent, labor-saving appliances. But their authors would surely disclaim any intention of "doing it all" and sparing the student every effort. They would protest emphatically against the notion that science is to be served out on the ready-made plan. The query, What is the best book on this subject? always deserves an answer. But the answer should not convey the impression that this or that book is the "philosopher's complete guide." Students who quit the lecture-room with the hope of finding in some corner of the library a treatise that covers the whole subject and smoothes out all the hard places, suffer from an illusion which, without prompt treatment, will terminate in aboulia.

Milder symptoms appear at times in those who imagine that they need not look beyond the books and reviews that are written in English. What French and German periodicals contain must, for such readers, be passed over to the wide

region of the unknowable. The task of preparing a bibliography on any subject is *a priori* impossible. And while the classical or standard works in philosophy may be read in translations, the current literature must wait until English becomes the universal language. Let us hope that these days may be shortened.

In the meantime, the seminary teacher may rightly complain of the deficiencies which he finds in candidates for admission. The student who does not learn French and German in college, can hardly expect the seminary to provide instruction in these languages. Accordingly, those colleges have taken a step in the right direction whose faculties insist upon the study of both French and German as a condition for graduation. Perhaps the seminary could meet them half-way by certain additions to its entrance examination.

One readily understands that the college should not lower its requirements in other branches, especially in Latin and Greek. Any modification that is to affect the teaching of the classics should be aimed at the improvement of methods, and should consequently emphasize the importance of the classics, both as means of culture and as subjects for scientific investigation. But at the same time this collegiate teaching could and should have a more direct bearing upon the studies which are pursued in the seminary. The student cannot advance very far in his reading of St. Thomas without meeting references to the earlier philosophers. Plato and Aristotle, Damascenus and Augustine are cited on nearly every page. Their principles are adopted or discussed whenever an important issue is raised. Not rarely their words are cited, and the whole force of an argument or the weight of a theory is made to depend upon their meaning as interpreted by the Scholastics. Yet it is safe to say that the majority of seminary students are not familiar with the original texts. How many have read Plato, for instance, in an English translation it is not easy to say—not so easy, at any rate, as it is to count those who verify the references to the “*Metaphysics*” and “*Ethics*” of “the philosopher.” The result is that the true historical import of Scholasticism—its sources and its development—are

not fully understood. Any attempt on the part of the professor to trace the growth of an idea from its first appearance in Greek philosophy, must either fail of the desired effect upon the students, or must involve the introduction into the seminary of work that should have been done in college. To recognize the value of the history of philosophy is one thing; to get this value, or even to place it within the student's reach, is quite another task. If it is to be properly accomplished, some acquaintance with the original texts, an ability at least to read them intelligently, should form part of the requirements for admission to the seminary.

There is no need of further details to show that one function of the college, so far as it prepares men for the seminary, consists in supplying them with the necessary instruments of research. That it should also supply them with the means of expression is quite clear. The reasons for insisting on a steady improvement in the teaching of English, are so obvious that they do not call for repetition here. In regard, however, to our present purpose, it is well to note that the possession of a clear, concise style goes far toward removing the difficulty of writing on philosophical subjects. The student feels that he is able to say what he has to say. With this consciousness of facility, he will readily adapt his style to the specific purposes of philosophy by a careful study of current philosophical literature. While he may regret that the masterpieces are not more numerous, he will learn the technical language of the science. There is, after all, the possibility of presenting in readable English even the severe thought of the Scholastic authors. But this supposes a very accurate knowledge of the terms which are now in use and the ability to select exact equivalents for the Latin terms. To some extent, therefore, the means of expression must be gotten after the student has entered upon his course in philosophy; the seminary must apply in particular directions the training which the college imparts. The student on quitting the seminary should certainly be a more thorough master of English than he was at the close of his college course. It would be deplorable if, for lack of exercise, the power of expression were diminished by

five years' study of Latin text-books in philosophy and theology. Then the college might justly complain.

Thus, the seminary course in philosophy has to count with two factors: the courses in theology above and the college training below. If it can be allowed to expand, it is likely to produce better results—provided the students are equipped for the sort of work that expansion implies. In determining the nature of this work, one limit will naturally be kept in view: it is that which is fixed by ordination and the consequent entrance upon the duties of the ministry. So long as this limit was absolute, philosophy had to be content with its propaedeutic character and with its prospect of pleasant adieus at the end of two years. But now that opportunities are offered for further study, the advantage of lengthening the seminary course in philosophy is easily seen. Not only would the student be kept in touch with the subject, its problems and its literature, but the possibility of taking up special lines of work would be continually impressed upon him. The heroism which at present is required to go back after four years of absence to the *bona derelicta* of philosophy might be expended in more profitable effort. Instead of a reversion, we should then have a normal development.

This bare outline of the actual situation and its needs brings to view one peculiarity of clerical education. It is impossible to discuss any element of that education without reference to all the other elements. There is an organic continuity which demands that any suggested improvement shall be considered in its effects upon the whole system. Little good can come of lamenting that the college is not up to the mark, or that the seminary misses the mark, or that the university is intent upon a mark of its own. Each of these institutions has a work to do; but the work cannot be done satisfactorily so long as there is no mutual understanding. It is not enough to agree, in a general fashion, that the college must provide these courses and the seminary must add these other courses. The teachers who are to give the courses should be brought into closer contact. They should realize the difficulties both of their own position and of the position in which their co-laborers

are placed. Assuming that all are striving for the same end, one might infer that there is some co-operation in the literal sense of the term. That so much has been accomplished speaks well for the ideal which inspires even detached endeavor. And it suggests that much more may be accomplished when each portion of the system is fully adjusted to the other portions. The system as a whole will then adapt itself to the environment.

EDWARD A. PAGE.

SOME LITERARY ASPECTS OF AMERICAN BOTANY.

I.

Of any department of knowledge it may be said that its dignity and respectability are dependent upon a certain quality in its literature. . . Everywhere, and very legitimately and rightly, it seems to be expected of the promoters of knowledge that they shall be able to give decent expression to that which they have to communicate. Indeed, correctness of expression is everywhere allowed the first and the fundamental place in intellectual training. Ignorance of grammar, or a habit of speaking or writing in defiance of its plain rules, would completely disqualify an applicant for the position of a teacher of even a kindergarten; and there is no fault which more sadly betrays the superficiality and incompleteness of education than inability to express ideas grammatically, and in logical sequence.

If it had ever happened that a particular science had been originated and developed by a set of illiterates, so that its published documents had evinced, on the part of the writers of them, crass ignorance of the rules of correct writing, such science would not only have been slow to obtain recognition; most likely it would have been lost under the ridicule and contempt which the unseemly expression of its principles would have invited. One might easily name a pretended science or two which aspired to recognition by the educated, though in vain, within the century that has lately ended; and their nature and their fate as only so-called sciences were determined as much by the bad grammar and worse reasoning of their advocates as by any other circumstances.

But the spirit of scientific inquiry has not often, hitherto, manifested itself among the unlettered. The acquisition of new knowledge and the dissemination of it when acquired are generally conceded to be, as they naturally ought to be, among the special prerogatives of the learned. Science belongs to scholarship.

This being admitted, as it will be and must be, it is nevertheless true that at least some branches of science here in the beginning of the twentieth century number among their votaries not a few whose scholarship is not of an exalted grade. There are certain realms of nature the investigation of which has captivated not only cultured minds, but also others who by courtesy only can be called educated; and, as the boldness with which the aspiring student of nature writes and prints is quite apt to be in the inverse ratio of his literary qualifications, we are getting to have, at least in botany, a good deal of printed matter,—I am hesitant to say botanical literature,—which, to put the case rather mildly, is away below the usual standard of excellence. It would not be extreme to say that, from the literary point of view, the condition of American botany has been retrograding somewhat rapidly for ten or a dozen years past, and is in a state which I am sure the forefathers of our science in this country, the good men of sixty and of thirty years ago, would think of as deplorable; and they would be right.

I am far from thinking that this scientific illiteracy, as I shall thus plainly denominate it, defaces botany alone in these days. So far from that, I am confident that the bad habit of writing and printing without proper antecedent training for such work has actually come across into botany, as it were by stealth, at certain points where botany has been in intimate contact with some other branches not remotely allied to it. For there are such kindred sciences of field and scope less ample than that of botany; departments of nature study whose literature is much less voluminous, and where the traditions of good scholarship among the fathers of such sciences are not so certain as in the case of botany.

It is easy to trace to its origin this condition of scanty mental equipment evinced by a great number of the botanical writers of to-day. Young men of the present are more than ever before in haste to be earning wages, and getting rich. It is a vulgar spirit which pervades—it is everywhere confessed—all classes of youth, as well as of older people. Even they who aspire to what were once known as the learned professions, will hardly allow themselves the expenditure of time, not to

say money, that is necessary to acquire anything beyond the most elementary and superficial education. For having yielded to the influence of the time spirit, youth is not so much to blame. More fairly responsible are those influential educators, some of them world-renowned, who have openly proclaimed to the youth of these eager mercenary days, that they need not have much Greek or Latin; that what is called "a reading knowledge," by which is meant smattering, of one or two modern languages over and above one's mother tongue, will do as well or better; that any scientific specialty, taken up seriously, and pursued for some years, will of itself thoroughly educate a man. It is those colleges and universities, so-called, that have adapted their curricula of study to the demands of young minds either indolent or mercenary, or both, which are first chargeable with the educational deficiencies of so many scientific people of the new generation.

Nature study is captivating, perhaps much more so than grammatical, linguistic and metaphysical studies, to youth in general. There is no doubt of that. Neither need it be called in question that even a single branch of natural history study long and ardently pursued must have the effect of training a mind to careful and minute observation, and to reasoning and reflecting, and this is an important part of an education. But in our time few if any nature students are content with observing and thinking. All must write, and print; and this whether they have or have not learned to write.

During the middle decades of the century just closed, while as yet there was no demand for botanical workers in connection with agricultural experiment stations, or forestry reserves, or as teachers in colleges, not to mention academies and public high schools; while as yet such very finished and highly accomplished botanists as George Engelmann and Edward Tuckerman were obliged to earn their livelihood in other professions, and allow to botany only their holidays and recreation hours; and while the gifted Asa Gray was almost the only occupant of a professorial chair of botany in this country; in a word, while as yet the botanists of the United States were extremely few, and those few had been trained before the dawn of this new era in which grammatical and metaphysical study

have, for those who may so choose, been eliminated from the curricula of colleges; before baccalaureates, and even doctorates, could be obtained without any real training in letters or in logic, and therefore without having been taught either to think clearly or to express themselves with accuracy,—in those decades now past, I say, no one would have felt called upon to discuss literary aspects of botanical science; for from that side of it which appertains to letters nothing was presented to invite comment.

During some dozen years past it has repeatedly been in my mind to inaugurate a series of papers under the title above presented. There are a thousand interesting and instructive things to be said under such a heading; but the reasons, whether for saying some of those things or for keeping silence, are several on either side, and I have until now refrained. Probably no harm, possibly some entertainment, perhaps some good to the printed botany of days to come, may accrue by what is herein offered.

In this article I shall limit myself to some suggestions regarding suitable titles for journals and other serials devoted to botany.

In general literature it is recognized that, at least from certain points of view, the title of a book is of as much importance as the matter within; that much of what is called the success of a volume has been sometimes ensured by the mere aptness of its name.

With books of science the case, though not at all similar, is in a way analogous. The success of any treatise that is scientific in the true sense, is told not by the number of copies that are sold, but by the frequency with which its contents are cited by succeeding scientists. A book or paper, every separate paragraph of which is the contribution of a new item of knowledge, will be quoted by volume and page, if not by paragraph, for untold centuries to come; and here the supreme need, as far as titles go, is that these be so brief and simple as to be easily cited by abbreviation.

Such botanical serials as "*Linnæa*," "*Grevillea*," "*Erythea*," "*Pittonia*," "*Rhodora*," and the like, all admit of being referred to under the simple abbreviations, *Linn.*, *Grev.*, *Pitt.*, etc.,

and are in this respect in wonderfully favorable contrast with the following specimen: "Contributions from the Herbarium of Franklin and Marshall College;" for how to abbreviate this, intelligibly, when there is need of quoting it, is a problem to vex beyond measure the mind of him who has to cite some valuable paragraph first published between the covers of this remarkable example of bibliobotanic onomastics.

A deplorable characteristic of much recent American botany is that its published matter is so largely presented under titles not only next to impossible to be abbreviated intelligibly, but often absurd and ridiculous. And all such titles are the outcome of a doubly unfortunate condition of the recent botanical mind. For it is one misfortune that a botanical investigator, having some new facts worth publishing, should be totally blind to the fact that this matter has to be cited in the future, by title and by page, by hundreds of other botanists, and therefore be utterly reckless in the choice of a title; and it is another misfortune that his mind should be so uncultured, on the literary side of it, as to leave him no resource but that of bare imitation of some other people's titles, good or bad. To never be capable of inventing, but always to be obliged to copy and imitate, is evidence not only of mediocrity in natural gifts, but of superficiality in education.

Going back thirty years from the date of this writing, we find that American botanical journalism was all comprised within three issues, of four pages each, of what bore this modest, though rather unwieldy title of the "Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club." It was then three months old, and embraced twelve pages of more or less interesting and valuable matter.

Twenty-five years ago last November, away out in Indiana appeared the first issue, and that a four-page one, of a second journal of American botany; and so scanty were the nomenclatorial resources there, that this had also to be called a Bulletin; the *Botanical Bulletin*. Asa Gray was then about the only American botanist who saw the possibilities of evil in this weakly imitative piece of journalistic onomatology, and advised the editors to abandon the title, suggesting another. And so,

on the concluding page of the first volume of the *Botanical Bulletin* the following paragraph found place :

"It is with a feeling of regret that with this number we bid farewell to the BOTANICAL BULLETIN. * * * It was with no thought of infringing upon the name of the *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club* that the name for volume first (sic) was selected, but as many have feared some confusion might arise, we have cheerfully withdrawn our claim and have selected a name which, we are assured by an accomplished scholar and botanist, means about the same thing."

And so, at the urgent plea of the scholarly Dr. Asa Gray, the present name of the "Botanical Gazette" early took the place of the second and synonymous *Botanical Bulletin*.

In the course of the last twenty years, during which time the number of botanical writers and authors has so wonderfully increased in this country, the Bulletins so-named, under the invocation of Botany, have increased annoyingly. But I shall not further discuss this caption. There are others that have had a much more extensive use, and which present more remarkable variations.

The most pretentious series of scientific papers that was somewhat early undertaken in this country is that entitled "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge." The name "Contributions" is one which is rather too high-sounding to be chosen by any scientist of overmuch reserve and diffidence. But the term was early introduced into our botanical literature as a heading by the eminent author of "Contributions to Botany." This author was long permitted to enjoy a monopoly of this rather pretentious caption, which also became more or less ironical, under his employment of it, in view of the fact that, whenever in this series he was revising contributions to plant knowledge which had been made by his departed predecessors, he was extremely apt to minimize, thus making his own so-called "Contributions" to be partly additions to and partly subtractions from the store of botanical knowledge. His monopoly of this title ceased with the year 1873, when one of his assistants, evidently without inventive resources along this line, initiated a series under the same caption, merely altered by the insertion of an adjective: "Contributions to American Botany."

Since the demise of Dr. Gray the number of American writers on botanical subjects has increased almost a hundred-fold, I think ; but of literary inventiveness on the part of such writers there is small evidence, judging by that very safe indicative, the titles of their serial papers ; and the use of the "Contributions" term has been carried to an extreme that is, on the whole, and in some particular instances, quite entertaining. There are now some forty or more serial papers current, or else already completed, under this same magniloquent heading. A full list of them would interest some of our readers ; but for want of space I must content myself with but a few examples, and for convenience of comment I shall number those given :

1. Contributions from the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University.
2. Contributions from the Cryptogamic Laboratory of Harvard University.
3. Contributions from the New York Botanical Garden.
4. Contributions from the Department of Botany of Columbia University.
5. Contributions from the United States National Herbarium.
6. Contributions to the Knowledge of the Flora of Tuscola County, Michigan.
7. Contributions to the Fossil Flora of Florissant, Colorado.
8. Contributions from the Herbarium of Franklin and Marshall College.
9. Contributions from the Botanical Department of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanics Arts.
10. Contributions to the Histogenesis of the Caryophyllales.
11. Contributions to the North American Euphorbiaceæ.
12. Contributions to the Myxogasters of Maine.
13. Contributions to the Gasteromycetes of Maine.
14. Contributions to the Comparative Histology of Pulvini and the Resulting Pholeolitic Movements (!).

To one who reads such a list of titles intelligently, any one of the list may seem as much weighted with expression of individual character—or of the absence of it—as with indica-

tions of the scientific contents of the papers which they head; and from this point of view, they become a significant and interesting part of the literature of botany.

From the fact that the above fourteen repetitions of the term Contributions are only about one-third of the number of such repetitions that have been made in the English language in the United States within the last twenty-five years, the first inference forced upon our minds is that there is much lack of individual character among our botanists; that we, as a class of scientists, have no mental resources of our own to speak of, and must in consequence everlastingly imitate one another; the lesser copying the greater, and the least as servilely imitating the lesser.

Such titles as those numbered by me 8 and 9 evince the utmost recklessness. I have already noted the fact, everywhere recognized, that new scientific matter should be given forth under such a title as admits of a simple, if possible monosyllabic, abbreviation. The particular paper, No. 8, has much matter that is good, and must inevitably be cited often in the future. But how shall the combined learning of all the botanists of all the ages be able to invent an intelligible abbreviation of "Contributions from the Herbarium of Franklin and Marshall College?" And still more appalling, from this point of view, is title No. 9. They both betray an utter recklessness, and that as to a matter of by no means small importance. The authors did not care how much trouble they might bring to the doors of other authors who, in justice to these discoverers of facts, would have to cite title and page in giving them credit for their discoveries. Either that, or else it never occurred to their minds that they were responsible in such a matter; but to confess that would be to acknowledge ignorance of the first principles of scientific writing.

In justice to the authorship of several of the longer titles given above, it should be said that the papers are published upon the pages of periodicals that have brief titles, the volume of which journal, and the page, are all that the future collector and arranger of the facts is obliged to quote. In such cases, the length of the heading of the article is of no serious import. It does not need to be mentioned in citation.

But of my numbers 8 and 9, this is not true. In neither of these is there any escape from the labor of citing the full sesquipedalian title, in case the matter within is to be cited, as it must be. As regards the pleasant serial current under title No. 9, I will only express the pleasure I take in the consideration that I may never have to quote it. Those researches, the results of which fill the series, are so far aside from my own lines that I shall not be called upon to try to invent an abbreviation. But not so with the No. 8 series. But even here, there is reason for self-congratulation in the fact that the Contributions from the Herbarium of Franklin and Marshall College do not exist in the plural. They ended with the first issue. That was some years since, and I have thus far steered clear of the dread necessity of making citational reference to the brochure.

One element luminously portrayed by titles 1 to 5, and some others in the same list, besides fifty others here nameless, is the vulgar spirit of advertising. There was, I believe, only one purpose very distinctly in view, when those headings 8 and 9, and their class were invented. That was to advertise those small institutions and their small herbaria. This splendid opportunity to give name and fame to herbaria and laboratories by no means famous, could not be let pass; and the thought of thus advertising was for the time supreme, to the banishment of every consideration of the scientific and literary fitness of things.

In passing to some criticism in lighter vein, I am sorry to begin with a title (No. 2 of the above list) upon which, by the way, are the same ear-marks of the advertising spirit, and that from the most ancient and celebrated seat of botanical and literary learning in this land. For the rest, the authors of the caption were so commendably absorbed in botany as to have become for the time oblivious of the fact that a word of Greek derivation may easily carry two meanings, an etymological one as well as a technical one. It is easy to fancy some one conversant with Greek derivatives, but ignorant of botanical terminology, asking in amazement what kind of an university department a cryptogamic laboratory might be supposed to be. And the title has, I am assured, given amusement to more than

one small gathering of botanists of the less illiterate class. But, altered to read "Contributions from the Harvard University Laboratory of Cryptogamic Botany," all ambiguity disappears; while the advertising element in the title, though Harvard University laboratories surely need not the cheap service of that element, remains.

Such captions as I have given under numbers 10, 11, 12 and 13 are not very numerous in botanical literature, though I have noticed double that number of them. They are brief, and doubtless to their authors and many of their readers unexceptionable. Yet by what is assumed in such titles every one of them is supremely ridiculous. Since contribution means adding to, and histogenesis is the name of a certain vital process which, like all other vital processes man is and will forever be powerless to set in motion, it is no more possible for a man to make contributions to histogenesis than for him to contribute a planet to the solar system. And so this author of contributions to the histogenesis of the caryophyllales is assuming, though unwittingly a power that has hitherto been conceded to the Author and Giver of Life.

The myxogasters of the State of Maine comprise all the individuals, all the species and all the genera of a certain class of plants as they exist, either observed and known, or unseen and unknown, within the boundaries of that commonwealth. To assume the ability of contributing to the myxogasters whether of Maine or of any other portion of our planet, is to assume supernatural powers. Only the Creator can contribute to the world's aggregate of either Myxogasters or Gasteromycetes or Euphorbiaceæ; and I was edified by observing that, in the midst of his series of good botanical papers, the author changed the title from that of Contributions to the Myxogasters of Maine to that of Contributions to the Knowledge of the Myxogasters of Maine. Some suggestion must have come to him from some kindly source, of the amazing presumptuousness of the caption originally adopted by him.

The concluding number (14) of the above collection of examples must be permitted to pass, for the present, without suggestion of amendment. It is quite beyond what skill I may possess in the solution of botanicological enigmas. I

have a fair conception of what histology is, and of what pulvini are ; but what it is from which the authors' "Pholiotic Movements" proceed, whether from his "Histology" or from his "Pulvini," and whether he contributed to the "Movements" or only to the "Histology," I cannot guess. In a word, I think that all the literature of botany and the rest of the sciences may be ransacked in vain for a match to this title as a specimen of scientific utter illogicality and nonsensicality. It is to be hoped, with all charitable hopefulness, that the author really had something clear in his own mind.

The stock of interesting botanicologic headings of which I had taken notes is rather far from having been herewith exhausted ; but the rest must wait.

EDWARD L. GREENE.

ACETYLENE, THE LATEST ILLUMINANT.

The struggle of the human race against darkness, and its efforts to prolong the day by means of artificial light, endured for ages unrewarded by any decisive victory or success. History gives no record of the transition from the torch of resinous wood, which lessened for primitive man the gloom of cave and forest, to the beautiful bronze lamp, fed by grease or oil, whose scented, smoke-plumed flame wafted a film of grime over the decorated panels of the palaces of Egypt, Greece and Rome. It does, however, furnish us with ample evidence of the widespread dominions of the oil flame, and of its ages of undisturbed sway as the chief purveyor of artificial light. This simple lamp had no rival until the twelfth century, when England gave to the world the tallow candle, whose superior beams occupied two centuries in crossing the channel to become a novelty in France. By the fifteenth century it had displaced the lamp throughout Europe, except in a few localities where its cost and the abundance of oil made it an article of luxury. The tallow candle remained the principal illuminant until the close of the eighteenth century, when the oil lamp reappeared, improved by a glass chimney and a circular wick, the invention of Argand, of Geneva, whose name this form of lamp perpetuates.

The development of gas-lighting in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the discovery of the oil wells in this country in 1863, the rise and marvellous growth of electric lighting, and the comparatively recent employment of incandescent mantles signalize the remaining epochs in the history of illumination which now chronicles the competition between coal-gas and electricity. The properties and merits of these latter agents of light are so universally known as to render a discussion of them superfluous.

There are, however, two disadvantages common to both these systems of illumination: heavy initial cost and expensive operation, which restrict the employment of these great boons

of modern civilization to those who reside in cities or large towns, or dwell in establishments requiring so many lights that the installation of a gas or electric plant is within the limits of a reasonable economy. The dweller in the rural district, therefore, is debarred from participation in this recent progress, and forced to rest content with more primitive methods of illumination. However, there have not been wanting efforts to destroy or diminish the disparity between conditions of urban and rural residence occasioned by the superior lighting facilities of the city. The lack of a brilliant, safe and clean method of illumination for dwellings, churches and institutions remote from centres of population large enough to maintain a gas or electric plant, has long been an incentive to inventive genius. The annals of the Patent Office of this and other lands devote page after page to descriptions of methods and devices for artificial lighting, which show by their number and frequency how many minds have worked upon the problem without evolving a satisfactory solution. Until recently no practicable substitute had been found for the smoky, flickering, uncertain gasoline-gas jet and the almost universally used, untidy, odoriferous, dangerous, oil-spreading kerosene lamp.

No one perhaps has experienced the deficiencies of oil lamps to greater extent, or can wax more eloquent on the subject of their concomitant evils, than the pastor in charge of a country church. These lamps do not lend themselves to decorative effects, and on this account remove one of the factors that add to the beauty and attractiveness of a city church. The incessant care of the lamps and the large element of fire hazard¹ in their use operate to restrict their number to the smallest possible. These, placed in brackets fastened to walls or pillars, or supported on standards rising from among the pews, with perhaps a heavy cluster of lamps lighted only on great festivals, pendant from the ceiling, ordinarily do little more than dilute the darkness. Then, too, the oil lamp is a source of unexpected confusion. A sudden draught from an open door or window may extinguish half the lights in a church, chim-

¹ In 1899, 4,754 lamp explosions and accidents occurred in the United States and occasioned a fire loss of \$8,232,255.

neys will crack at inopportune moments and cause commotion by the snap and falling glass, and oil drippings show a remarkable facility in attaining the clothing of members of the congregation. Nor must the evils of oil-lighting from a hygienic point of view be passed over. The great amount of oxygen consumed by burning oil in proportion to the light given rapidly impoverishes the air and loads it with the deleterious results of combustion. This is markedly noticeable in small rooms, especially in the winter season, when ventilation is difficult, and depression, headaches and dyspepsia follow the imperfect oxygenation of the blood.

Defects such as these, which are but a few of the many disadvantages accompanying the use of oil lamps in churches, halls and schools, have brought them into the category of necessary evils. This condition need not, indeed ought not, to endure any longer, for the past few years has witnessed the steady growth and perfection of a system of lighting which not only gives to small communities a safe and brilliant light, but has boldly intruded into the fields of illumination occupied by gas and electricity. Like other great discoveries which have worked to the benefit of the human race, its advent was not heralded by a "Eureka!" sounding the successful result of years of patient toil and research, but was the outcome of pure accident.

Numerous misstatements of the properties of acetylene have been circulated, both by friends who endow it with qualities beyond its present realization, and by foes, who see in its progress a decrement of income from vested interests. As a result, many who would not hesitate to avail themselves of this unexcelled illuminant, were they possessed of certain knowledge of its properties and confidence therein, are reluctant to do this. In the hope, therefore, of placing before such as these information based on experience and reliable scientific data, this brief history and exposition of acetylene and its properties has been undertaken.

The first extensive application of the high heat realized in the electric furnace was that of the production of aluminium. This element is one of the constituents of many minerals and clays, and in this condition is very abundant. By subjecting

a mixture of these earths and coke or carbon to the intense heat of the electric furnace, their other elements are forced out of combination leaving the pure metallic aluminium in a molten condition. In the spring of 1892, Thomas L. Wilson, of Spray, N. C., attempted to procure metallic calcium, one of the constituents of limestone, by a similar process. This metal had hitherto been obtained only in very small quantities and by most difficult, painstaking chemical methods, and is rarely seen outside of chemical museums.

Wilson's electric furnace yielded him a nearly black, hard mass, far different from the calcium which he hoped to obtain, but, as he soon discovered, something far more useful and valuable. This dark solid material was removed from the furnace and discarded as worthless. It was thrown into a brook nearby, and, in contact with the water, decomposed with rapid effervescence, giving off great bubbles of gas possessed of a peculiar odor, and coloring the water of the brook a milky white. The gas was found to be inflammable, burning with a bright but smoky flame. Another melt of the material was obtained from the furnace, and this was examined and carefully studied. It proved to be a compound of calcium and carbon, known as calcium carbide, and the gas which it formed when brought in contact with water, was acetylene. Both these compounds, however, were not new to chemists. Wöhler, the famous German chemist, discovered calcium carbide in 1863, and even prior to this date, acetylene was brought to the notice of the public at a meeting of the Royal Society of Dublin, in that city in 1836. In this year Edmund Davy, chemist to the society, described the constitution and more important properties of the gas, stating that "from the brilliancy with which the new gas burns in contact with the atmosphere it is admirably adapted for the purposes of artificial light, if it can be procured at a cheap rate." During 1886 and 1887, calcium carbide was made at Lockport, N. Y., but the absence of an observant inquisitive mind, when the boys employed in the aluminium works were accustomed to amuse themselves during the noon hour by throwing water on pieces of old crucible linings¹ and setting fire to the gas liberated,

¹The crucibles used in the electric production of aluminium were, for a time, made by coating the interior of iron pots with a mixture of lime and coke, which was transformed into calcium carbide by the great heat of the furnace.

retarded by some years the discovery of this valuable compound and cost some one fame and fortune. Wilson's discovery fulfilled the condition mentioned by Davy as militating against the use of the gas,—the production of acetylene at a cheap rate, and its application to purposes of illumination, though slow at first, owing to the opposition of the vast interests which its introduction threatened, is now extending with marvellous rapidity.

That this should be so does not seem strange to those familiar with the gas. Its steady, brilliant, white light approaching sunlight in its physical and chemical properties, its ease of production, and its economy are the factors which are effecting its supremacy in the field of illuminants. It is the simplest and purest of all illuminating gases. Coal gas and the vapors produced from gas oils and gasoline are varying mixtures of other gases. Acetylene, as commonly made, contains less than 1 per cent. of impurities, and consists approximately of 93 per cent. of carbon and 7 per cent. of hydrogen.

It has been shown that the luminosity of an ordinary gas flame is due in great measure to the presence in it of acetylene, produced by the decomposition of some of the hydrocarbons of the coal gas. Hence the light-giving power of a flame of pure acetylene should be, and is, much greater than that of coal gas. Photometric tests have shown that 1 cubic foot of ordinary illuminating gas yields from 2 to 18 candle units of light per hour, according to the burner employed, the lesser quantity being obtained from common flat burners, and the greater amount from the best Welsbach mantles. Similar tests applied to acetylene have resulted in a light value of from 34 to 50 candlepower per cubic foot, according to the quantity consumed, in flat flame burners; and from Welsbach burners adapted to acetylene, a type as yet in the experimental stage, a light of 96-candlepower per cubic foot of gas has been obtained.

Some interested promoters of acetylene-gas lighting, in their endeavors to make apparent the economical advantages of acetylene gas, claim for it a much greater illuminating value in comparison with coal gas than impartial scientific investigation has been able to confirm. For example, the one-half foot

acetylene burner is rated by many advertisers at 25-candlepower; it is true that 250-candlepower has been obtained from a burner consuming 5 cubic feet, but it is unfair and not at all consonant with tests and experiment to conclude that the light-giving power of the gas is arithmetically proportionate to the quantity used. Photometric tests have shown that the half-foot acetylene burners now in use emit a light of from 12 to 17 candlepower. On the other hand, the coal-gas jet, ordinarily contrasted with acetylene burners when comparisons are made, is rated at 20-candlepower per 5 cubic feet of gas consumed, a valuation seldom attained in practise and more rarely adhered to if we believe those who pay gas bills and those who have often wondered why a 20-candlepower gas flame does not give as much light as a 16-candlepower electric lamp. Moreover, the gas supplied to consumers in different cities and that made in the same cities at different periods varies in its lighting effect. One will not, however, be disappointed if he considers the half-foot acetylene burner as the equivalent of a five-foot coal-gas burner, the discrepancy, if there be any, will generally be found to favor acetylene. With the half-foot burner as a basis, the calculation of the cost of acetylene light is easy. The raw materials are calcium carbide and water; the apparatus is simple and comparatively inexpensive. One pound of calcium carbide, purchased in 100-pound lots, costs between 4 and 5 cents, and will generate 5 cubic feet of acetylene, a quantity sufficient for ten hours' lighting. Hence the cost of a single acetylene-gas light, at least equal in illuminating power to an ordinary gas jet, and superior to it in other of its properties, is less than one-half a cent per hour. This, in terms of coal-gas, would mean \$1 per 1,000 cubic feet; but, it may be added in favor of acetylene, that the present price of carbide must decrease considerably with increased production, expiration of patent rights, and the utilization of a less expensive source of heat than the costly electric energy in its preparation. Motives of economy, therefore, cannot be adduced as very strong arguments against acetylene lighting. The cost of acetylene, neglecting the original outlay for generator and burners, is entirely that of the calcium carbide; the labor incident to the care of the various types of producers now on the market is a

matter of but a few minutes per day, and is far less troublesome than the attention required by a few kerosene lamps. The gas is produced by the contact of calcium carbide with water, with the formation of acetylene and lime, and the generators are so designed as to produce the contact gradually and automatically.

In one of the earlier forms of apparatus water was sprayed on the carbide, and the increased pressure of the gas generated, or the rising of the bell of the gas-holder, automatically closed the valve controlling the water supply and thus prevented further generation of the gas. The diminution of pressure, or descent of the bell, following the consumption of the gas, operated to again turn on the water. Another type of generator was so constructed that the water flowed into the carbide receptacle from below until the pressure of the gas generated was such that it forced the water to recede, permitting its return only when the use of the gas diminished the pressure to a sufficient extent. In a third class of apparatus, the carbide is gradually added to a great quantity of water; the dropping of the carbide into the water being effected by mechanism actuated by the descent of a small gasometer bell.

In the first two classes of generators, it is seen that the gas was produced by the action of a small quantity of water on an excess of carbide, a method of manufacture which fails to develop the full gas value of the carbide.

The reaction of calcium carbide and water is productive of a great amount of heat, and this has the effect of diminishing the yield of acetylene on account of its decomposition and polymerisation. In other words, acetylene gas, when subjected to great heat, partly condenses to form benzene, naphthaline, tar and other non-gaseous hydrocarbons, and partly dissociates into carbon and hydrogen. These reactions not only impoverish the supply of acetylene, but also tend in time to interfere with the normal working of the system by clogging the valves and pipes. The amount of heat evolved when a small quantity of water is added to a comparatively large mass of carbide has sometimes been sufficient to melt the soldering of the apparatus, and, indeed, conditions may arise which

will result in the carbide becoming red hot. It must be stated, however, that in small generators, with a capacity for but a few lights, the quantity of carbide used for a charge is so small that this heating effect never becomes so great as to be noticeably detrimental to light or apparatus. Experience with these and similar facts drew from Moissan, the celebrated French authority on acetylene, the opinion that the ideal apparatus consists of a gas holder containing an excess of water into which the carbide falls automatically; and from Professor Lewes, the eminent English expert, the statement that "with the water kept in excess, it is impossible for the temperature to rise above the boiling point of water, and under all conditions this class of generators yields the purest gas, as the acetylene, having to bubble through the lime-water formed in the generator is washed free from most of its impurities." A given amount of carbide always gives off the same amount of heat by total decomposition, but when only a small amount of water is added this heat becomes localized, while when the carbide is immersed in a large quantity of water this latter absorbs the heat, which diffused through a much greater mass, elevates its temperature very little.

The manufacturers, too, quickly recognised the advantages of the "drop" or "carbide feed" generators, and now nearly all the apparatus for producing acetylene do so by this method of cool generation. The generators consist essentially of two parts. The generator proper is formed of a closed vessel of water, to which is attached a carbide holder and the mechanism for permitting the carbide to drop into the water as required, together with a large valve or other arrangement for the removal at intervals of the lime water and residual lime. The acetylene produced in the generator is led through suitable pipes into the gas-holder, or bell, with water seal, which rises as the gas enters and is so connected with the carbide-charging mechanism that it cuts off the supply when it rises to a certain point, and drops an additional charge when it falls a determined distance. These are the necessary features of the best generators, but all makers have patented and added appliances for which they claim particular advantages, such as methods of purifying the gas, charging with carbide while in operation,

automatic flushing out of the residue, etc. Moreover, the small space occupied by generators, even those of large lighting capacity, has made it practicable and desirable to install the apparatus inside the buildings supplied by it. This, however, could not be done in insured buildings without the consent of the underwriters; and the various boards of this country, after mature deliberation, agreed upon a set of rules¹ which, being complied with, permitted the use of acetylene generators in premises covered by their policies, and the adoption of some of these recommendations have added to the complexity of the apparatus.

In the selection of a machine one may be easily misled by the *ex parte* statements of manufacturers and other interested

¹ RULES GOVERNING THE INSTALLATION OF APPARATUS FOR GENERATING ACETYLENE GAS.

1. No generator shall be located in any building where insurance policies cover that can generate gas under a greater pressure than that sufficient to distribute it through the pipes of the building, or under a greater pressure than that used with ordinary city gas.

2. Each generator must be properly designed and have sufficient capacity for the work it has to do, and must be made in such a manner and of such materials as to insure durability and stability.

3. Each burner burning one cubic foot of gas per hour shall have at least one pound of carbide for its supply in the generator when first loaded, to prevent too rapid generation of gas.

4. No generator shall be installed, the maximum capacity of which is less than one pound of carbide for each one foot burner.

5. Each generator must be so constructed that when the lights are extinguished, the supply of water to the carbide or the supply of carbide to the water will cease automatically.

6. Each generator must be provided with a connection leading out doors, which in the event of an accidental overproduction of gas, will convey such surplus to the outside air.

7. The room in which the generator is placed shall be well ventilated, so that any escaping gas may not be confined in said room.

PERMISSION FOR THE USE OF ACETYLENE GAS.

Permission is hereby granted for the use of acetylene gas on the premises described in this policy.

Permission is also granted to keep on the premises, in air-tight packages, outside of the building in which this policy covers, not to exceed 150 pounds of calcium carbide. When calcium carbide is stored under the sidewalk, properly cut off from the main building, it shall be considered to be outside the main building.

It is especially warranted by the assured: First, That no change shall be made in the arrangement of the apparatus without the written consent of this company indorsed on the policy. Second, That the generator shall not be charged, or calcium carbide handled, except by daylight only. Third, That no artificial light shall be permitted within ten feet of the generator. Fourth, That no artificial light shall be permitted in the room where the main supply of calcium carbide is stored; and, Fifth, That no calcium carbide, except that contained in the generator shall be kept in the building itself where policy covers.

The use of liquid acetylene or of the gas generated from liquid acetylene, is absolutely prohibited.

persons, and, in consequence, the introduction of acetylene into a house or church may be followed by disappointment when the novelty has worn off and the carbide must be paid for. This is particularly the case in the comparisons made in regard to the light emitted by coal-gas and acetylene. I do not say, nor do I believe, that these statements are wilfully misleading; in fact, it is very easy to account for them.

When attention was first drawn to the possibilities of acetylene as an illuminant, it was submitted to photometric tests, and, naturally, under the best conditions known conducive to high values. Thus, as before mentioned, it was found that a 5-foot acetylene burner gave a 250-candlepower light, and later, that the same quantity of acetylene, consumed in a specially constructed Welsbach burner, emitted light equivalent to 488 candles. From the first value given it was calculated that half-foot burners consuming one-tenth the quantity of gas required by 5-foot burners, gave one-tenth the light, hence it was rated at 25-candlepower, a value which later photometric determinations proved to be excessive, but which, nevertheless, still persists in the advertising literature of many dealers. A seeming confirmation of the excessive light-giving value of acetylene is afforded by the fact that many so-called one-half-foot burners consume a greater quantity of gas. The orifices through which the acetylene escapes consist of two exceedingly fine holes, each of which, in the normal tip, should permit the passage of but one-quarter of a cubic foot in an hour. Hence, it is seen that a very slight enlargement of the drill used in boring will produce a decided increase in the amount of gas consumed, and, consequently, in the brilliancy of the light, sometimes to such an extent that the purchaser of the plant is temporarily convinced that the claims of acetylene have, if anything, been understated. According to recent calculations¹ no credence should be given to statements asserting that lighting by acetylene is less expensive than by kerosene. A writer in *Engineer* gives data showing the relative cost of kerosene and acetylene, in the lighting of a house illuminated by means of 5 large (circular wick) and 5 small kerosene lamps. The change in illuminants would

¹Lewes, Acetylene, p 596, and *Engineer*, March 31, 1899.

result in an increase of 67 per cent. in the amount of light furnished, owing to the difficulty of procuring acetylene burners economically small enough to permit an accurate candlepower substitution. The time during which artificial light is required, calculated from dark to 11 p. m., amounts to about 1800 hours a year. The cost of lighting a house by means of kerosene at 16 cents per gallon, allowing for a 10 per cent. depreciation of the lamps and 5 per cent. interest on cost of same, would be \$35 a year. Using acetylene, with carbide at \$5 per 100 pounds, and the same depreciation of plant and interest on its cost, the bill for lighting would amount to \$110. These figures are based on English values. With kerosene at 10 cents per gallon and carbide at \$4 per 100 pounds, the values would be respectively \$24 and \$92. It must be remembered also that at these figures the amount of light obtained from acetylene is greater by 67 per cent. than that obtained from kerosene. The same lighting effect produced by kerosene would increase its cost proportionally, making the annual expenditure \$40, and showing that, light for light, acetylene costs more than double as much as kerosene. No one, however, is influenced by bare motives of economy in discarding kerosene lamps; if this were so, coal-gas and electricity would never have reached the importance they now hold as illuminants, for they do not compare in this respect as favorably as does acetylene.

Another source of error which causes confusion in judging of the comparative methods of generators arises from the want of a standard of capacity. A machine listed at thirty lights may be so characterized because it will supply that number of burners for one, two, three, or any lesser or greater number of hours; the period of time during which the machine will work without recharging is seldom stated. This uncertainty need not exist if the carbide capacity of the apparatus be considered. One pound of carbide will generate 5 cubic feet of acetylene, sufficient to supply ten half-foot burners one hour, or one half-foot burner ten hours; in other words, it will produce gas enough for ten light-hours. Similarly, a machine taking a charge of 10 pounds of carbide will supply gas to 100 lights for one hour, 20 lights for five hours, 1 light for 100

hours, or that arrangement of any other numbers of lights and hours that may be expressed by any pair of the factors of 100. It is, therefore, an easy matter to calculate the size of generator required for any definite service. For example, let us consider the selection of a generator for a dwelling house in which the average number of lights needed between the hours of four and eleven is ten, and let us desire a generator of such a capacity that it will require charging but once a week under such service. Ten lights burning seven hours a day for seven days represent a consumption of gas, if half-foot burners be used, equivalent to 490 light-hours. One pound of calcium carbide will produce ten light-hours of acetylene; therefore, a generator taking a charge of 49 or more pounds of carbide will suffice. An increase in the average number of lights in use, which may occur on special occasions, will necessitate more frequent renewal of the carbide, just as a diminished need of light, as happens during the summer months, will enable the apparatus to fulfill its functions without attention for longer periods. A generator large enough to satisfy the conditions just outlined need not occupy a floor space greater than three by six feet. Acetylene generators seem so small in comparison with their light service, as judged by ordinary standards, that the inexperienced are apt to be incredulous in regard to their ability to meet requirements, but practical acquaintance with their operation soon transforms this scepticism into admiration for the light-producing properties of the gas.

The public has heard much of the dangers of acetylene, and the press has recorded a number of accidents, most of which would have occurred with coal-gas under like conditions, a few of which were due to inherent properties of the gas itself. Chemical compounds vary greatly in their resistance to chemical change or decomposition. Some, like water or granite, require the application of an intense heat or other powerful agent to effect their disintegration into their elements or other compounds, which action ceases with the withdrawal of the disruptive force; others, like alcohol or wood in presence of air, require in comparison but a very trifling degree of heat, and when this is effective in starting decomposition, or, in other words, combustion, its own heat continues the reac-

tion gradually throughout the mass. Gunpowder and nitroglycerine are examples of still another class of compounds in which the slightest incipient decomposition or shock sends dissolution throughout the entire mass with lightning-like rapidity, a phenomenon which we term explosion. Such compounds are said to be in unstable chemical equilibrium. Acetylene ordinarily belongs to the second class described. Mixed with a certain amount of air it will explode, as will alcohol vapor or fine sawdust or coal-gas. We have records of the explosion of nearly empty alcohol barrels, of woodwork establishments, of flour mills, of candy factories, and of buildings in which illuminating gas had escaped. In one particular only can acetylene be said to be more dangerous than any of the above-mentioned substances, and that is in the slightly wider percentage limits of explosive mixtures of it and air. A mixture of any degree between 3 and 82 per cent. of acetylene and air will explode if ignited, while for coal gas the limits are 5 and 70 per cent. It can be easily understood, therefore, that bringing a flame in contact with a mixture of acetylene and air will cause an explosion, and, as far as it has been possible to discover, all explosions ascribed to the use of acetylene for illuminating purposes during the last few years have been due to this cause. The introduction of a candle or a lighted match into a recently discharged generator in order to see if it were freed from residue has caused several accidents, and the installation of home-made generators lacking some of the provisions for safety recommended by the board of underwriters has been the source of others. The occurrence of an explosion by bringing a light into a room in which gas is escaping from an open burner is, however, less likely to happen in the case of acetylene than in that of coal-gas. An ordinary acetylene burner, turned on full, would require fifty-three hours in which to discharge enough gas into a room 10 by 8 by 9 feet to reach the lowest explosive limit, a task that coal-gas would accomplish in seven hours.

Acetylene, though ordinarily as stable a compound as illuminating gas, can, however, be placed in the unstable or dangerous class, by compression. It was found that the gas could be condensed to a liquid by subjecting it to a pressure

of 600 pounds to the square inch, and that one cubic foot or $7\frac{1}{2}$ gallons of the liquid would give 400 cubic foot of gas. This at once promised for the new illuminant a widespread application, and compressors were set to work and steel cylinders filled with the liquid. Some of these exploded with terrific, fatal effect, and scientific investigation demonstrated that liquid acetylene was liable to explode by heat or concussion. Legislation was set in motion in various countries and laws made to prevent the use of acetylene in the liquid state or the generation or storage of the gas for purposes of lighting under pressures greater than those defined by statute. As a consequence, the generators now made are so constructed as to render it impossible for any approach to a dangerous pressure to be effected. A lighted taper introduced into a cylinder of acetylene will set fire to the gas at the mouth of the vessel, where it comes into contact with the air, but will itself be extinguished when it enters the body of the gas. A red hot platinum wire introduced into a gas-holder will decompose only the gas in contact with it, and the detonation of a fulminate therein will produce decomposition only in its neighborhood and affect but a small proportion of the gas. Research work on the chemical properties of acetylene, has been carried on in the laboratories of the University for several years, in the course of which the gas has been passed for hours through red-hot iron pipes connected with glass and metal generators but a few feet away, and though the acetylene in the hot pipes decomposed, no accident occurred at any time and no explosive wave was ever propagated back towards the generator.

Acetylene under the conditions that now prevail when it is used for purposes of illumination yields only to the candle and electricity in freedom from dangers of explosion.

It has been charged against acetylene that it is poisonous, and it was so characterized on the strength of the report of an incomplete investigation of its physiological action made in 1867, when the only available laboratory methods of producing the gas were by the decomposition of ethylene bromide and the imperfect combustion of coal-gas.¹

The notice referred to does not specify the source of the gas,

¹*Berichte der deutschen chemischen Gesellschaft*, I, 220.

but the reactions obtained were so similar to those of carbon monoxide that we may readily infer that it was obtained by the latter of the above methods. Recent elaborate research has shown conclusively that acetylene, if at all poisonous, is only feebly so, and that animals can live for several hours in an atmosphere consisting largely of acetylene, if it contains the normal proportion of oxygen. On the other hand, it may be said that chemical science knows of few poisons more certain and rapid in their action than carbon monoxide, one of the constituents of coal-gas.

Of course everyone understands that acetylene gas, containing no free oxygen will not support life, and that a person placed in an atmosphere of it would soon die of asphyxiation, just as he would in an atmosphere of the palatable carbonic acid gas, tons of which are dispensed from soda water fountains every year, and just as he would if he were retained below the surface of water for any length of time.

With the extended use of acetylene as an illuminant "blowing out the gas" would disappear as a cause of fatal accidents, for, where days are required for the escape of sufficient acetylene to form an explosive mixture in an ordinary bed-chamber, weeks would elapse before the atmosphere would be so poor in oxygen as to effect asphyxiation. This is no longer pure theory; the public press has recently chronicled the failure of acetylene in an attempt to share this lethal property with coal-gas.¹

Nor does acetylene heat or vitiate the atmosphere of a room to the extent that coal-gas does. The latter consumes five times as much oxygen, evolves five times as much carbonic acid gas and fourteen times as much moisture, and pro-

¹The *Sydney Record* (N. Y.), states that D. M. S——, a young man, registered at Hotel ——, in that village, and whether designedly or not, he tested the safety of sleeping in acetylene gas. He is from Milford. His room for the night was No. 14. Before going to bed he applied his powerful lungs to the acetylene flame and actually blew it out. Then he retired. Now, D., like many another youth from the country whose conscience does not trouble him, sleeps very soundly. That was his experience in the hotel at Sydney. But acetylene was not asleep. It moved steadily into the room throughout the night and was as vigorous as the small orifice would permit quite up to daybreak. Mr. S—— awoke, noticed the strange odor, dressed himself lively as a squirrel and went down and enjoyed a good hot breakfast, all of which, as gas history, sounds amusing enough. But what a testimonial to the non-poisonous properties of acetylene! Had coal-gas been present instead, the *Sydney Record* would have had a sorrowful report of another death from gas-poisoning, instead of this pleasing little item.—*Acetylene Gas Journal*, January 1901.

duces eight times as much heat as an acetylene burner giving the same quantity of light. In the items of oxygen removed, carbonic acid evolved and heat produced, the Welsbach mantle, however, makes a more favorable showing than acetylene. Crude acetylene contains as impurities sulphuretted hydrogen, phosphoretted hydrogen and ammonia, all of which are decidedly noxious gases, but they are present in exceedingly minute quantities, rarely reaching a total equal to one-tenth of one per cent., the greater part of which is absorbed by the water of the generator and gas-holder. The small fraction of these gases that reach the burner are rendered innocuous by combustion, the products of which, those derived from ammonia excepted, after an hour's use of the gas, probably do not exceed those added to the air by the ignition of a common match.

The element of danger, therefore, need not be seriously considered as an argument against the use of acetylene. The greatest drawback to the use of the new gas, and that not a serious one, is occasioned by the imperfection and deterioration of the burner tips after they have been in use for some time. The acetylene flame is a flat one, produced by two tiny cylindrical flames, which impinge on each other at a certain angle and spread out to a fan-shape. If the two jets fail to meet squarely, or if one has greater force than the other, a distorted flame of low illuminating power will result. The warping of metal parts and the deposit of carbon in the gas passages, both effects of the heat of the flame, are the causes of this unevenness, which is disappearing as burners are perfected. The warping effect may be remedied or prevented by using burners with movable arms, or with both arms made in one piece of steatite. The clogging of the burner by the deposit of carbon is less likely to occur in the steatite burner, and some others are so arranged that the channel may be readily cleaned.

This infrequent trifling defect, which is disappearing day by day and which bears no comparison to the trouble necessitated by the use of oil lamps or of Welsbach mantles, alone survives of all the terrors that have haunted the alarmists and have been created by those who dreaded decreased dividends from their gas and electric stock. The permanency of

the new illuminant is assured. It has already proved a blessing to many churches and institutions, in some of which plants approaching a capacity of 1,000 lights have been in use for several years. It now provides over thirty towns in the United States and a larger number of small European cities with means of illumination hitherto obtainable only in large cities. It is the ideal light for a country church, and, because of its little, intensely bright flame and the small globes and piping required for it, may be utilized for decorative purposes to an extent impracticable with the use of ordinary gas.

In the selection of a generator it must be borne in mind that the simplest is the best. Some apparatus is so loaded down with automatic arrangements that the care of the latter and the multiplied opportunities for trouble offered by their complexity outweigh the advantages derived from their use. When outside space is available, and the generator and gas-holder can be located at a distance from the building to be lighted, the least trouble and the utmost simplicity may be obtained by the installation of a gas-holder capable of containing all the gas required for one night's use. Such a gas-holder need not be very large; one 6 feet in diameter and 5 feet high will hold over 100 cubic feet of gas, sufficient to supply 50 lights for four hours, and may be charged by any of the generating devices of the machines now on the market. The change to acetylene may be very readily and cheaply accomplished in cases where the light is obtained from gas-oil; for the gas-holder and piping in use may be utilized.

No better evidence of the simplicity and safety of acetylene lighting can be adduced than that offered by the portable lamps now made, which contain within the space and shape of an ordinary oil lamp the entire generating apparatus so arranged that its use requires less care than does a kerosene lamp. These inexpensive "one-light plants" offer a ready means of becoming acquainted with the gas and its production to those who feel the need of more light and would utilize this last bequest of the science of the nineteenth century, which Pictet calls "the light of the future."

JOHN J. GRIFFIN.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Correspondance de Monseigneur Gay (1817-1892), Évêque d'Anthédon, auxiliaire de Son Eminence le Cardinal Pie. Précédée d'une Introduction par Mgr. Bannard. Tome I, 1834-1863; Tome II, 1864-1891. 8°, 1899, pp. xxxii + 426, 444,—Librairie, H. Ondin Poitiers et Paris.

The fame of Bishop Charles Gay, the right hand of that intrepid and apostolic man, Cardinal Pie of Poitiers (d. 1880), can only gain by these two volumes of letters, written for the most part to his sister and his intimate friend, the Abbé Perdrau, curé of St. Etienne du Mont at Paris. There are more than three hundred and fifty of these letters; in all of them there breathes that "perfervidum ingenium" of Catholic mysticism which stamps the writings of Gay with an ineffaceable distinction. These ascetic writings are in too many hands, too often translated, for more than a mere reference to the twenty volumes they fill. In them all there is much of Father Faber—the same high-strung lyric, almost transcendental, expression of personal devotion to Jesus Christ. Indeed, we may say that Gay was among the most romantic apostles of Our Lord in this century. A sure and practical theologian, versed in the writings of the Fathers and the mediæval ascetics, his phrase is always philosophical, well-balanced, and at times tinged with a poetic freshness and richness. Originally a "universitaire" and a very liberal Christian, Charles Gay fell under the magic spell of Lacordaire, and soon abandoned his taste for art and music, to enter the Catholic priesthood. The greater part of his activity (1858-1888) was spent in the city of Poitiers, and particularly in the service of its bishop, as vicar-general, consultor, preacher, writer, director of Carmelite convents,—in a word, a manifold service that recalls the archaic duties of the priesthood in remotest Christian antiquity. Theologian at the Vatican Council, auxiliary bishop at Poitiers since 1877, he found himself engaged in many of the great burning questions that fill the middle of this century with the noise of their discussion. Liberalism and naturalism found in him a determined and skillful adversary, in his writings, his sermons, and his lengthy service as director of souls.

These letters represent only the most intimate outpourings of his soul. His first apostolate was the conversion of his own parents and relatives to practical Catholicism; his most enduring monument will perhaps be these admirable effusions of heart to his sister, in which the director of

sons and the fond brother are inseparably welded. To write a letter, it is said, is to give over a portrait of your soul. In these letters the soul of Bishop Gay appears in a halo of Christian loveliness. They swarm with phrases and paragraphs of rare beauty. They are his best "elevations." Scarcely less charming are the letters to his life-long friend, the Abbé Perdrau, author of several works on the Blessed Virgin. Of them all Mgr. Baunard, the venerable rector of the Catholic University at Lille, writes in his introduction (p. 7) that they "speak with the familiar condescendence of the language of the heart. For this man is all heart, with his ardor, delicacy, generosity, strength, and tenderness. His own soul is the most lovely vision he could offer us of his relations with those whom he held so dear." The last years of his life were saddened by the unhappy conflicts that followed the death of the great cardinal. The historian will find a valuable document of that period (II. 330-341) in his letter to Mgr. Bellot des Minières, the successor of Cardinal Pie. Gay was the intimate friend of Gounod and Liszt, whose genius for music he is said to have shared. The names of many protagonists of the Catholicism of France decorate these pages: Gerbet, Gnéranget, Besson, Jandel, Perreyve, and others. His judgment on Père Hyacinthe, in 1866, is worth reading (II. 61). So, too, are his letters concerning the attempt to put on the Index the work of M. Olier on the Blessed Virgin, which work he defended successfully. Apropos of this incident he writes to the Abbé Perdrau (May 27, 1868; II. 69): "Cher ami, la forme est un temple et bien saint et vraiment tout divin; la formule est une maison que notre condition terrestre rend précieuse (peut-être indispensable); mais que des gens tendent à changer cette demeure en prison! Il faudrait l'élargir toujours, pour se rapprocher de l'état céleste, et eux vont la retrécissant sans cesse."

There is a very delicate and rarely keen page of self-study (II. 404) under very painful conditions. Had he so chosen, Gay might have left us a most poetic book on Christian Rome, a theme that appeals all-powerfully to the impressionable Gallic heart from Montaigne to Louis Veuillot. As it is, these letters to his sister are an "unicum" in Christian literature—the very counterpart of the correspondence of Henriette and Ernest Renan. He loves himself to recall the friendships of Nysus and Enryalus, of Orestes and Pylades (II. 355), but only to add that, "since Jesus Christ, there can grow up and live no true friendship without the life-giving sap of the Savior." Mgr. Baunard rightly says he has vainly sought in Christian antiquity for a parallel; perhaps if we had the correspondence of St. Cæsarius of Arles with his sister Cæsaria, of St. Benedict with St. Scholastica, or St. Paulinus with his wife Theresia, we should have analogous pages of the closest natural affection, uplifted, sanctified, transfigured in the Man-God.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Vie de Saint Bernard, Abbé de Clairvaux, par l'Abbé E. Vacandard,
2d edition. Paris: V. Lecoffre, 2 vols., 8°, 1897, lii + 511, 581.

"Ultimus inter patres, primis certe non impar," wrote Mabillon as his judgment on the deeds and writings that make up the life of Bernard of Clairvaux. A man who could unite the praises of St. Thomas Aquinas and those of Luther and Calvin, the spirit of whose writings is enshrined in the "Imitation of Christ," while these same writings have gone through five hundred editions since the discovery of printing, is surely a phenomenal figure. Other mediæval men have performed immortal deeds; Bernard is one of the few of whom it may with all justice be said: "Defunctus adhuc loquitur."

What an epitome of Western history his life (1090-1153) offers to us! The reformation of monasticism that was as closely bound up with the life of the Church as feudalism was with that of the State; the bold and holy language of corrective charity, fearlessly spoken to layman and cleric, to nobles and bishops, to kings and popes; the incessant journeys through France, Germany and Italy; the preaching of a crusade; the creation of sixty-eight abbeys of Benedictine nuns throughout Europe, and of an endless series of abbeys for men; the pursuit of dangerous heresies and false philosophies; the stern defence of ecclesiastical liberty and legislation; the sorrowing concern for every spiritual decay, in individuals and nations; the vast correspondence with all conditions and ranks of men; the unity of all that varied activity that never once ceased to draw its direction and its purpose from the most wonderful of mediæval societies, Clairvaux—all this, and much more, lends to the life of Saint Bernard the deepest human interest. He draws, charms, holds the student of his life, not by his inexhaustible energy, and his mellifluous oratory, nor by the architectonic character of his whole life, but by a higher power—the irresistible power of sanctity. In Bernard blossomed out all the romanticism of mediæval sanctity, but with a luxuriance, a rich and swelling foison that the world had not yet seen. Here was a man, in the highest Christian sense "integer vitæ scelerisque purus," who had gone over to Jesus Christ as his "miles," his henchman, faithful unto death. To reproduce in his own the life of Jesus was his sole thought; hence he could measure all the affairs of men by one simple standard, conformity with the will of Jesus. Only, Bernard grasped this principle with an unequalled intensity of penetration, and applied it on all sides with an apostolic directness and simplicity that cut sharp and clear between the "elements of the world" and the teachings of the Savior. Out of the confusion of a hundred years' war between priesthood and empire, between Rome and a wandering King of the Rhineland, the figure of Bernard arose, white, great, holy, refreshing, like the Head of

Shasta above the clouds. It seemed as if our Master, our Rabbi, again walked the earth. The enthusiasm for this Frenchman was paralleled only by the enthusiasm for the Italian Francis. In each the sublime Catholic gift of sanctity raised to the highest power every natural gift and quality, lifted them all into a super-national atmosphere, made them heroes of their own world, and endowed them with a spiritual hegemony over all future humanity. In Bernard the dominant force was the heart: "Da amantem et sentit quod dico," says his epitomist, the author of the "Imitation." He was no Aristotelian, and in his pursuit of Abelard and Gilbert de la Porrée we recognize a genuine survival of the temper of Tertullian: "Quid Academiae et Ecclesiae! Quid luci cum tenebris!" The Church was already in the full swing of that perilous transition which Cardinal Newman describes so admirably in his lectures on "The Idea of a University," and which she executed with safety, owing, largely, to the genius of St. Thomas. It was rightly seen, at a very early date, that Bernard stood for the old, the traditional, the patristic views of teaching, living, thinking in Christian life; for the enthusiasm, the "Innigkeit," the personal note of a severe religious Catholicism. The stern, simple, grave architecture of Clairvaux, and not the "mignardise" of a later date, represents the natural temperament of Bernard that was later saturated with the sweet dews of sanctity, but never could be sympathetic to any minimizing and compromising "modernity" of thought and devices.

The work of M. Vacandard is long enough before the public for a final judgment. It is a masterpiece of hagiology. Many years of special studies, close and accurate dealing with the original sources, numerous partial essays on different phases of the life of Bernard and the character of his time, have rendered M. Vacandard one of the chief authorities on all Bernardine questions. His work is really a Church history of the first half of the twelfth century, as seen from the portals of Clairvaux. He moves with caution and respect in this restoration of the world-dominating figure of Bernard. Modern by his severe method and habit of thought, he is in spiritual contact with the ideals of the great Saint. These two volumes lend themselves easily to citation and illustration; they deserve in every library a place among the best "Lives" of the century.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Zur Codification des Canonischen Rechts, Denkschrift von Dr. Hugo Laemmer. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1899. 8°, pp. 223.

The learned professor of Canon Law at the University of Breslau offers us in this work an interesting account of all that has been done towards a codification of the canons since the *Correctores Romani* completed their work on the "Corpus."

Codification is a problem which has received quite as much attention from students of the common law as from ecclesiastical legists. Lord Bacon, in his treatise "*De Augmentis Scientiarum*," affirmed the necessity of a revision and digest of the laws of England, which were to be found only in a vast accumulation of volumes; and he went so far as to approach King James with an offer of his services in compiling such a digest. Kent declared that the time was ripe for a digest of the American law, "retaining what is applicable, and rejecting everything that is obsolete and inapplicable to our institutions." And in more recent times we find distinguished supporters of codification of secular law in Pollock, Amos and Holland. The agitation has had a practical effect in some of our States, e. g., Georgia, California, North and South Dakota.

The motive of the complaint and demands for reform voiced by so many eminent lawyers may be said generally to be a desire to have a great mass of decisions and statutes reduced in bulk, freed from incongruities and contradictions, and restated in an orderly and scientific form.

The same evil against which our common law jurists are crying out, has also asserted itself in the domain of ecclesiastical law and has been the occasion of much complaint and study on the part of canonists. Since the Corpus was closed, decrees and decisions almost without number have been issued; contradictions occur between old and new laws; changed circumstances have rendered obsolete much of what was once binding, and the student of the canons finds the difficulty of his work enormously increased by the character of the sources from which he is obliged to draw.

It is to be regretted that the Bishops of the Vatican Council were not permitted to complete their deliberations, for there is reason to believe that they would have taken up this vexed question of codification and proposed some practical solution. A great number of bishops from all parts of the Church presented petitions asking that the work done formerly by Popes like Gregory IX and Boniface VIII might be taken up anew by Pius IX, with good results for the study and observance of the canons. "*Obrui mur legibus*" was their complaint. The bishops of Naples asked for a "*novum corpus juris*;" the bishops of Central Italy for a "*recognitio corporis juris*;" the bishops of Canada for a "*codificatio totius juris ecclesiastici*;" and similar prayers were presented by French, German and Belgian prelates. Moreover, in the numerous supplications for revision of the law on many points was implied only too clearly the defective condition of our present body of law in view of modern circumstances. The untimely termination of the sessions of the council prevented the realization of the desires of all who were aware of the need of a remedy. But since then in the instruction,

"Cum Magnopere," we have had an exemplification of the work which the council might have initiated on general lines.

Monsignor Laemmer's work is really a history of codification, beginning with the time when Pierre Matthieu published his *Liber Septimus Decretalium* in 1588. The character and contents of the work of Matthieu, of the *Liber Septimus* of Clement VIII, the *Bullarium* of Benedict XIV, and the collections of decrees and decisions compiled by private individuals are set forth with the greatest accuracy and completeness.

The account of the references to the matter in the Vatican Council is especially interesting. The efforts of post-Vatican writers to produce codifications of the law are also noticed very fully; e. g., the *Codex Ecclesiae* of Pezzani; the *Codex Juris Pontificii* of Colomiatti; the *Codex Canonum* of de Luise; the *Jus Canonicum in Articulis Divisum* of Pillet, and the *Memento Juris* of Deshayes. A work of similar character, not mentioned by Laemmer, is the *Proyecto de Código Procesal Canonico*, by Cadena y Eleta, published at Madrid in 1895.

The subject treated in Monsignor Laemmer's book has already been discussed in Canon Pillet's work "*De la Codification du Droit Canonique*," published in 1897; but while Pillet discusses the necessity, opportuneness, method and purpose of codification, Laemmer contents himself with simply recounting what has been done in this field up to the present time. This was probably the sole purpose which the author had in composing this work, and he has certainly succeeded in giving us the best record of the process of codification which we possess; but his opinions on the topics so freely treated by Pillet would have been welcome and valuable.

JOHN T. CREAGH.

1. **Cithara Mea**, by the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, author of *Geoffrey Austin, Student*, "*The Triumph of Failure*," "*My New Curate*," etc. Boston: Marlier, Callinan & Co., 8°, 1900.
2. **Studies in Poetry**, Critical, Analytical, Interpretative. By Thomas O'Hagan, M. D., Ph. D. Boston: Marlier & Co, 1900. 8°, pp. 360.

1. Why this fine poet should deem it necessary to load his title-page with a Latin and a Greek quotation is unanswered anywhere in "*Cithara Mea*." This sort of pedantry has gone out of fashion, except perhaps in remote pulpits; and Father Sheehan speaks,—as it is the poet's business to speak,—so convincingly the language of our time that English is nowhere in the body of the book insufficient for him. It is a volume of poems which those who have not lost, in the multitude of warring and superficial opinions, the power of appreciating poetry must read and reread with reverence and delight. There are defects in verse music, which show

the want of intelligent training in the use of English metres rather than lack of the natural musical sense. But these are as nothing compared to the elevation of thought, the restrained warmth of imagination, the quality of making the objects of observation glow and burn; and the exquisite insight that characterizes the poems of an author who ought not to be ranked after Francis Thompson. Father Sheehan might have kept four or five of these poems seven years longer, to chisel the form. "The Dreaded Dawn," for instance, can only be prevented from getting into all the anthologies by its inequality of treatment. It opens with the Swinburnian music:

"Ismene! we walked the sands together,
And I was winter and you were May;
But our love of the sea broke time asunder,
Made summer for both that happy day."

You trust yourself to this flowery pathway, but strike a pebble in the very next stanza:

"Ismene! your hand was gathered in mine,
As the heart of a rose in its withered leaves,
And your finger petals twined and closed,
As your memory twines around him that grieves."

What poet has described the hand-clasp of a child better than by that simile of "the heart of a rose?" It deserves the most perfect setting;—Father Sheehan has not troubled himself about that. With the music of the first line in our ears,—

"Ismene! we walked the sands together,"—

he adds this lumbering arrangement:

"Ismene! you said, Hark, hark to the waves,
And the echoing sound from the far-off shore.
I wonder if angels play with shells,
Do they start at the leap of the sea's long roar?"

In four carefully modulated stanzas the poem would have been perfect. In eleven it is as terrible an example of how a poet may spoil his own inspiration as George H. Miles' "Said the Rose." That, too, would be a lyric for all time were it not for its diffusiveness, though no one can find fault with its music. Browning has not given us any evidence of insight more keen than the last line of this poem; but it is impossible not to be

righteously indignant with a poet,—and we use the word advisedly,—who could butcher it in this way:

“Ismene! I hoped thy child-soul gazed
Through eyes that were soft as the eyes of a fawn,
Alas! 'twas a woman's soul looked at me—
I was face to face with the dreaded dawn.”

Father Sheehan is a very fortunate man, not in having written the most successful of all novels in English dealing with priestly life, or in having shown unmistakable signs of the possession of the highest poetical talent, but in evidently possessing that artistic quality of growth which will force him to remedy the minor defects of the very finest qualities.

2. Dr. O'Hagan is very ardent and enthusiastic. “To all who dream and build and dwell,” he says, “in the enchanted realms of poesy this volume is inscribed by the author.” He writes on Tennyson's “In Memoriam,” Browning's “A Death in the Desert,” Mrs. Browning's “Sonnets from the Portuguese,” Wordsworth's “On Intimations of Immortality,” Coleridge's “Ancient Mariner,” Shelley's “Prometheus Unbound,” Keat's “Eve of St. Agnes,” Gray's “Elegy in a Country Churchyard.”

The simplicity and ardor with which he takes up the defense of Tennyson's “In Memoriam” against those who think that “seems” does not mean “is” and that the late laureate was not a firm believer in Christianity is very attractive. He does not make out a very good case, but one feels that, in this era of cold analysis, one has found a man with a warm heart where he expected to discover only a scientific critic. Dr. O'Hagan's artless reverence for Mr. Hamilton Mabie's opinion in all time of doubt is likewise a charming evidence of his enthusiasm. Coventry Patmore declares somewhere that the devil is the only entirely analytical creature,—therefore, he is the devil. Deep in his mind Dr. O'Hagan seems to be of the same opinion, and there is not one line of destructive analysis in this book. A Catholic who could resist the temptation to point out the heresy in Wordsworth—

“Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting
And cometh from afar,

is even rarer than the rhetorician who can fail to accent the falseness of Shakspeare's famous metaphor about taking arms against a sea of troubles. The young person who cannot be moved to admiration by Dr. O'Hagan's love of beauty ought never have been permitted to learn to read at all.

MAURICE F. EGAN.

The Rulers of the South: Sicily, Calabria, Malta. By Francis Marion Crawford, with a hundred original drawings by Henry Brokman. 2 vols., 8°, pp. 391, 407. Macmillan, New York, 1900.

The interest in the ancient Trinacria of the Greeks and the Romans, the home of mythical giants, Laestrygons and Cyclops, can never die out. Together with the neighboring mainland of Italy, whose fate it has always shared for better or for worse, Sicily is one of the oldest seats of humanity in the West. Before he died, Freeman was engaged on a work that was to be as classical for Sicilian history as his "Norman Conquest" for that of England. The novelist, Mr. Crawford, has seized on these marvelous lands as the subject of an historical sketch in two volumes. They deal with the story of southern Italy and Sicily in the Greek and Roman times, also under the Goths, Byzantines, Saracens, and Normans. A very brief sketch of the later Sicilian history and a chapter on the Mafia are added. Altogether it makes a volume of pleasant reading for the dilettante, illustrated as it is with rare skill by the hand of Henry Brokman. Gibbon, the new *Histoire Générale* of Lavissee and Rambaud, Amari, Delarc, among the moderns, seem to have furnished most of the material. The bibliography in the beginning would have been more welcome and useful, if it had been extended considerably and the dates, years, and places of publication been given in each case. Any modern bibliography, e. g., of Sicily, would be extensive,—but the best works could have been gathered under appropriate rubrics, as is the case in the "Italie" of the *Librairie Larousse*. The name of Freeman does not appear, yet no man in this century wrote more sensibly or more enthusiastically about Sicily. Nor does the great work of Lenormant, "*La Grande Grece*" find a mention. Yet it is a classic. I might mention other standard authors. It would have been well if their materials, instead of being narrated in a long and somewhat desultory manner, had been broken up under some such general titles as political institutions, social life, and the like. Otherwise it is a vague and unclear picture that results from the reading of so costly a book that aims at being more than a mere account of travel. Mr. Crawford is a master of historical narrative as often as his imagination is roused. Witness this paragraph in which he sculpts for us the moment that saw the creation of the enormous ruins of Selinus in Sicily (I, 90.) :

"No earthly hands, bent on blotting out the story of Selinus, could have done such work, neither the crowbar and lever of the Carthaginian, nor the giant powder of the modern engineer. Nature herself did the deed. In the morning the seven temples of Selinus were standing whole and perfect against the pale and dazzling sky; at noonday the air grew sultry and full of a yellow glare, the sea lay still as liquid lead, and the

sleeping beast on the field woke suddenly in terror of something far below, that could be felt rather than heard; an hour and more went by and then the long low sound that is like no other came up from the depths of the world, and the woodland heaved like the tidal swell of the ocean, once, twice, and thrice, and was still, and a great cloud of white dust hung where the seven temples had stood. As they fell, so they lie and will lie for all time, a very image of the abomination of desolation."

As a modernized chronicle of the loveliest of Southern lands, written by a master of pure English and a man of heart and religion, this beautiful specimen of the bookmaker's art ought to be everywhere welcomed. What work shall we have next to complete the trilogy of which the "*Ave Roma Immortalis*" and these volumes are a promise?

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

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1. **The Last Years of St. Paul**, Abbé Constant Fonard, translated by George F.X. Griffith. New York: Longmans, 1900. 8°, pp. xiii + 326.
 2. **Saint Jean-Baptiste de la Salle** (1651-1719), A. Delaire. 8°, pp. 210. Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1900.
 3. **Saint Antoine de Padoue** (1195-1231). L'abbé Albert Lepitre. Paris: Lecoffre, 1901; 8°, pp. viii + 209.
 4. **Sainte Gertrude** (1256?-1303). Gabriel Ledos. Paris: Lecoffre (*Les Saints*) 1901. 8°, pp. iv + 207.

1. With this work the Abbé Fonard completes his life of Saint Paul. With the volume on St. Paul and His Missions (Longmans, 1894) it makes a succinct and edifying account of the first spreading of Christianity outside of Judea. M. Fonard writes for the educated Catholics of our time, not for the small world of critical, self-narrowing specialists, who fritter away in minute and useless burrowing the great religious and pedagogical value and interest of the life of the Apostle of the Gentiles. From cover to cover this book is useful and elevating reading; it well might be made, with its companion volume, a manual of the earliest church history in our colleges, academies and high schools. Or, at least, a summary of the lives of SS. Peter and Paul might be compiled from the writings of M. Fonard, with some additional chapters that would bring the story up to the death of St. John in the early part of the second century.

2. In this brief life of the holy founder of the Institute of Christian Schools, M. A. Delaire has outlined the figure of one of the world's greatest benefactors. Faithful to the traditions of "*Les Saints*", he

sketches the social surroundings of de la Salle, the influences that shaped his growth, the character of popular education at the time, his gradual calling to the children of the poor, his relations with that "pepinière" of holiness, Saint Sulpice, his pedagogical principles, and his training schools, his sufferings, and the incredible final expansion of his work. For the many who have not read the very valuable pedagogical writings of the Saint, or the classical life of him by the Abbé Guibert, superior of the Seminary of the Catholic Institute at Paris, this small book offers the aromatic essence of the life and works of one of the great Friends of Humanity in these newest times. As the ages wear away the peculiar genius of de la Salle will appear more and more. And if the democratic tendencies of the present times be finally triumphant, then we shall not need to prophesy, when we assert that his memory will yet be held in wondering benediction by the generations destined to supplant our own.

3. Among the Franciscan saints none, after the "Poverello" himself, caught the European imagination like the young Portuguese noble, Fernando, who quitted in 1220 the Canons of St. Augustine at Lisbon to follow the voices of martyrdom, perfection, apostolate, that solicited powerfully his ardent soul. In eleven short years he fulfilled a great mission in Morocco, in France, and finally (1229-1231) at Padua, in Italy, where he died (June 13, 1231). Within a year, contrary to all custom and in obedience to a wave of popular sentiment and piety, he was canonized at Spoleto (May 30, 1232). To-day the visitor to Padua is drawn as once, almost unconsciously, to the great, lonely pile that is known as "Il Santo," and beneath which lie the remains of this extraordinary man. His energetic spirit was at once transfused into the Franciscan body, and completed the more mystic, calm, and gentle traditions of the founder. Legend, with its deft and fanciful hand, soon wound a romantic garment about this figure of a great popular mediæval preacher; she was aided by the peculiar Franciscan method of preparing formal and official lives of the great saints of the brotherhood, to be read in their assemblies or cut up into lessons in their breviaries, thus securing a uniformity of tradition. M. Lepitre has gone over all the sources of the life of Saint Antony,—the original and contemporary ones are very few, scarcely more than an anonymous account, quite incomplete as to facts, drawn up before the death of Soeiro Vegas II, a bishop of Lisbon, who died in 1232, and containing information furnished by that prelate and by the anonymous writer himself, who claims to have been an eye-witness of the events he narrates. Some think the writer was John de Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury; others that the style resembles much the first life of St. Francis himself by Thomas of Celano. M. Lepitre does considerable pruning among the miracles of St. Anthony, for many of which there

are only late and uncertain vouchers; yet he leaves us an admirable saintly figure of the "Dugento." Apart from the undeniable influence Antony exercised on the development of the Franciscan ideas, what a psychological interest is awakened by this ardent soul, a knight of Jesus, who roams the world in pursuit of His enemies and consumes himself in an incredible double activity of contemplation and action! In the history of humanity such men are akin to the great elemental forces of nature, the flood, the lightning, the rushing wind—they have their appointed place in the great economy of life as mapped out from above, and move irresistibly in their functions when the appointed hour has dawned. Though this life is written chiefly for students, its critical contributions to the history of the time cannot fail to be transferred, eventually, to the popular lives of the "Thaumaturgus."

4. M. Ledos has made of this subject a contribution to the beginnings of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Out of the revelations and spiritual exercises of Saint Gertrude of Helft (near Eisleben) and her friend Saint Mechtilde he has culled abundant and interesting paragraphs that give to the volume a specifically religious and even mystic character. The texts are taken from the Benedictine edition of the writings of these famous mystics (*Revelationes Gertrudianae ac Mechtildianae*, Paris, Oudin, 1875) and from the French translation of Gertrudes "Herald of Divine Love" (*ibid.* 1878). The volumes of "Les Saints" are very unequal, and it seems at times as if there were a want of unity in their composition. We opened this book, expecting to find Saint Gertrude properly placed in the midst of useful chapters on the growth, tendencies, and peculiarities of the German mysticism of the thirteenth century. A few foot-notes refer us to some superior modern treatises on the same. But the popular, useful character of this collection demanded that the gist of these books should be gathered by the writer of "Saint Gertrude" and given to the public. There are volumes to spare on the devotional side of mediæval and modern Catholic life,—what was wanted, it seems to us, on this occasion, was a clear and succinct history of the beginnings of that powerful current of spiritual forces that dominated the thought and action of the Middle Ages from Saint Bernard to Thomas à Kempis and the "Deutsche Theologie," something like M. Hallberg's introduction to his "Sainte Mathilde" in the same series. As these volumes are making their way into English, this would be an easy method of popularizing the conclusions of scientific histories that otherwise are scarcely known, even by name, to the best educated of our American people.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

De la Psychologie des Religions, Raoul de la Grasserie. Paris: Alcan, 1899; 8°, pp. 308.

As the title indicates, the author, a laureate of the French Institute and judge of the court of Rennes, has tried on psychological grounds to account for the striking beliefs and practices that characterize the religious systems of the world. Whether any particular form of religion is to be accepted as revealed and true he does not stop to inquire. This question lies outside his immediate purpose. He disclaims all controversial designs. In every form of religion he finds a phase of human thought, a philosophy of life, a systematic program of conduct devised to meet the intellectual, moral, and sentimental needs of man. Hence three main questions propose themselves for solution. What are the characteristic elements of religion considered as a universal phase of human thought? What are the psychological laws that have governed their genesis and development? What are the chief motives that have inclined men to religion? The answers to these questions form the threefold division of the work under review.

In the first part the author makes a survey of the characteristic elements of religion, grouping them under the threefold head of doctrine, morals, and cult or ritual. In the treatment of this heterogeneous mass of material he shows more than ordinary power of analysis, though he does not escape the fault of making repetitions, a fault that attaches also to the other portions of his work. In his analysis and treatment of the moral side of religion he makes many solid and suggestive observations, mingled, however, with others that do not commend themselves to sound Christian philosophy; as, for example, his severe animadversions on the underlying principles of the doctrines of original sin and the vicarious atonement.

A point on which he dwells at length,—and, strange to say, one that is generally overlooked by writers on the connection of morality with religion,—is the distinction between ritual morals (*morale cultuelle*) and natural morals (*morale naturelle, psychologique*). In the former are included all obligations and privileges directly connected with cult, and hence looked upon as the expression of divine will. Natural morals refer primarily to all that is forbidden, permitted, or enjoined by natural law. Now, he observes, in all but the highest religions, ritual morals are not in harmony with natural morals, but have permitted—nay, even enjoined—rites that are repugnant to the moral sense, as cannibalism, human sacrifices, acts of gross sensuality. This leads him to the view that in the lower religions there is no dependence of natural morals on religion.

This conclusion, however, is erroneous. He seems not sufficiently to distinguish between the *sense of moral obligation* and the *appreciation*

of its extent. Peoples belonging to lower grades of culture have but an imperfect appreciation of the extent of moral obligation. Many things shocking our sense of right seem perfectly proper to them. But they are not wholly devoid of moral sense, and so far as that sense of right and wrong extends, just so far is their moral conduct, as a rule, strengthened by religious sanctions. This is shown by their belief in retribution of good and evil deeds after death, by their use of ordeals, by their view that sickness and other calamities are often sent by the gods as punishment of theft, adultery and other crimes.

Now at the time that human sacrifices, cannibalism, self-mutilation, and unchaste rites were made forms of divine worship, they were looked upon as perfectly proper, owing to the limited recognition of the extent of moral obligation. But in the course of time some of these peoples improved their state of culture. A better appreciation of the moral standard led them to see that certain traditional customs were wrong. As a result, they discarded them gradually from ordinary conduct long before they modified in corresponding manner their cult; for religious usage, like legal justice, is a strongly conservative force and yields but slowly to the more progressive recognition of a higher moral standard. This is the reason why ritual morals, like vested legal rights, have often been out of harmony with an ever growing sense of right and wrong.

Another point on which the author lays great, and we may say, undue stress is the existence outside of Christianity of rites analogous to the Christian sacraments. He expects that his remarks on this head will be a surprise to his Christian readers, especially Catholics, who have long been persuaded that sacramental rites are peculiar to the Christian Church alone. How the author, born and brought up among Catholics, could have arrived at so naive a view is surprising, the more so as the majority of the pagan rites he instances were discovered and made known to European scholars by Catholic missionaries. It is to Peru and Mexico of the time of the Spanish conquest that he directs our attention in order to show that those distant peoples were familiar with rites corresponding to Baptism, Communion, auricular Confession, and other sacraments. He could have found a more striking resemblance to our Communion service in the Mithraic rites mentioned by Justin and other early apologists, or better still, by the Haoma sacrifice of the modern Zoroastrians. But these examples seem to have escaped his notice. More surprising still is his attempt to find a parallel to the sacrament of Confirmation in the Mexican rite of purifying children by passing them quickly over a blazing fire.

In the second part of his work he expounds the psychologic laws that he thinks have operated to produce the characteristic features of

religion. He enumerates them as follows: the Law of Efficient Causes, the Law of Progressive Evolution, the Law of Rarification and Condensation, the Laws of Heterogeneity, Symbolism, Formalism, Mythism, Imitation, the Law of the Unity of the Human Mind, the Law of Capillarity, the Law of Alternation between the Subjective and Objective, the Law of Alternation between the Concrete and the Abstract.

Some of these are undoubtedly of importance, but such as have this merit were well known to the thinking public before M. de la Grasserie's book appeared. Such are the principle of the uniformity of human thought in like conditions, that of the human craving for perfection, which he inaptly calls the Law of Capillarity, and that of Progressive Evolution, though why he omitted the corresponding Law of Retrogressive Development is hard to see. His application of most of the laws he enumerates is too subjective and too superficial to create the impression that they are principles that can guide one to results of genuine value. Thus he tries to show how his Law of Alternation between the Subjective and the Objective is exemplified in the theory, which he takes to be an established truth, that religion, beginning as ghost-worship, developed by a natural and mechanical process into nature-worship and anthropomorphic polytheism,—a theory which ignores the capital fact that nature-worship is a characteristic feature of primitive religions and which is discountenanced by the majority of thoughtful writers on religion at the present day.

The third part consists of a summary exposition of the various emotions that enter as formative influences in religious development. While not without sound observations, this exposition is marred by the presence of others that do not commend themselves to a critical mind. Most thoughtful readers will agree with the author that the primitive belief in immortality did not arise from the consideration that strict justice, not being found in this world, calls for a continuance of life after death. But at the same time they will recognize the inadequacy of his theory that the belief grew out of the instinctive desire of self-preservation. The dream theory has much more likelihood than this.

Even more objectionable is his view that it is fear of suffering that gave rise to the primitive conception of deities as evil spirits, and that only long afterwards did the conception of good deities take shape as the mechanical result of man's instinctive desire for happiness. Most scholars incline to the view that belief in beneficent deities is as primitive as belief in evil deities, the former being the personalities connected with the beneficial phenomena of nature.

The main fault of the work is that the author has proceeded to philosophize without first making sure of his facts. He has attempted a task too great for his range of accurate knowledge.

In teaching and practice the Buddhism of Thibet and China is altogether different from the religious system set up by Buddha. Yet to the author Buddhism is one homogeneous system. He confounds the different and contradictory eschatologies of primitive and Lamaistic Buddhism. He erroneously talks of the virgin-birth of Buddha. He devotes several pages to an enumeration of resemblances between Buddhism and Catholicism, unsuspecting of the fact that the majority of the alleged Buddhist analogies have been shown to be exaggerations and anachronisms. Missing the peculiar meaning of "Karma," he applies it inappropriately to the evil consequences that a man's immoral conduct may bring to his wife or children.

It must have been a long time since the author read the early narrative of Genesis, for he says it was Cain who first offered to God an animal victim and that in consequence of this inappropriate gift he incurred the divine displeasure!

He shows a slender acquaintance with the results of sound biblical scholarship when he asserts that the Jews had no sacred literature before the captivity.

A fair knowledge of Christian doctrine would have saved him from such blunders as to say that Confirmation is a sacrament for the remission of sin, conferred at the time of puberty; that the words of consecration in the Mass are a magic formula constraining God to come down into the bread and wine; that the bliss of heaven for Christians consists in a trance-like gaze on the essence of God to the forgetfulness and disregard of all other beings. In fact, whether intended or not, the book from beginning to end is a veiled attack on Christian doctrine and ritual. It is a book that will do harm to Christian readers of weak faith and of indiscriminating judgment. But in learned circles it will not exercise any deep or lasting influence.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Illustrated Explanation of the Apostles' Creed. Adapted from the original of Rev. H. Rolfus, D. D., by Rev. Ferreol Girardey, C. SS. R. Benziger, New York, 1901. 12 mo., pp. 360.

The series of popular explanations of the Commandments, Sacraments and Apostles' Creed, which Dr. Rolfus prepared for the German Catholic faithful of the last two decades, has gradually found its way into an English dress through the efforts of Father Girardey. The present volume is divided into two parts: the first dealing with the nature, object, sources, necessity, and properties of Faith; the second, exposing in orderly detail the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed.

The exposition, while familiar, is as full as might reasonably be expected in a work of this nature, and there is an abundant sprinkling of

scripture texts throughout. A reflection, practice, and prayer accompany the exposition of each article, as the volume is intended primarily for the faithful. The ninth article on the Holy Catholic Church comprises more than one fourth of the book and is very well presented. Sunday-school teachers will find this work a valuable source of information, while the faithful cannot fail to profit by perusal of its contents.

We would like to have seen the elements of faith more carefully differentiated from the elements of reason, especially in the chapter on original sin (p. 95). The darkening of the intellect, and the hardening of the will to evil, were indirect, and not positive consequences of man's original transgression. The so-called "wounding of nature," was, in the last analysis, a withdrawal of original justice, which resulted in a civil war of the faculties thus deprived of their higher source of subordinating harmony. The Fathers were wont to regard the parable of the man "who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among robbers who also stripped and wounded him" as a type of fallen man stripped of his supernatural and wounded in his natural belongings. The enumeration of the four wounds, first collectively mentioned by Venerable Bede, soon became classic, and a positive meaning was soon associated with his phrases. St. Thomas, however, invariably explains the wounds of nature as privative, not positive, as relative, not absolute; and calls attention to accumulated actual sin as a factor to be reckoned with in accounting for man's proclivity to evil. Thus objective analysis, and not the exegesis of a parable, has since become the theologian's tessera. It would seem, therefore, advisable in preaching or exposing this doctrine, if for no other reason than to forestall cavil, to disassociate the purely privative consequences of original transgression from the positive results of repeated actual sin which have intensified the sinfulness of the race and added habit to privation.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Le Portrait de N. S. Jésus Christ, d'après le Saint-Suaire de Turin. avec reproductions photographiques, par Arthur Loth. H. Oudin, Paris, 1900. Pp. 64.

This pamphlet of 64 pages describes a remarkable phenomenon which occurred in Turin, Italy, on May 28, 1898. The Cathedral of St. John, in the city, numbers amongst its relics a large sheet of fine linen which a nobleman of France presented to the collegiate church of Lirey in 1253, and which, after undergoing various changes of owners and abodes, came to Turin in 1694, and has remained there ever since.

It is reputed to be one of the winding sheets in which the body of our Divine Savior was wrapped at the time of the entombment. It is

14½ feet in length and 4 feet 8 inches in width, and bears on its time-yellowed surface, in a deep ruddy brown shade, the double image, front and back, of a human form, as if, when the body of Our Lord was laid upon one portion of the long sheet and the other part was folded down over it, His image left its impress on the cloth.

On account of this, the winding-sheet has ever been an object of veneration to many of the faithful, who have looked upon it as an authentic relic of our Divine Lord, and have visited it in thousands on the rare occasions when it has been exposed to the public gaze. During the exhibition of sacred art, which occurred in Turin in 1898, an exposition of the winding-sheet took place, and permission was obtained from King Humbert, the hereditary guardian of the sacred relic, to photograph it, in the seemingly vain hope that a long exposure with plates made especially sensitive to the dark color of the sheet would accumulate an amount of detail invisible to the naked eye, as happens when photographic methods are employed in the study of manuscripts, etc. The work was placed in the hands of a committee of gentlemen possessing the necessary scientific and technical skill and of undoubted repute. Several plates were exposed in the camera, and of those two were amazingly successful; but in place of obtaining a negative or image in which the lights and shadows of the original appear as shadows and lights, the operators were astonished to find that the plate was a positive, representing in light and shade, with a marvellous perfection of detail, a front and back view of the body of Our Savior. Attempts to explain this strange phenomenon have not been wanting, but all have been far from satisfactory. It could not have been caused by the action of the myrrh and aloes with which the body was anointed, for this method of embalming was common among the Jews, and there is no evidence at hand of a like occurrence; moreover, produced in this way the image would be exaggerated in width and distorted, and would not present the clearly-defined, projected proportions it does in the photograph. Other explanations, such as some electrical influence, or the painting of a negative image on the sheet at some past epoch, are shown to be equally futile; and, therefore, the author concludes that the phenomenon is an evidence of the authenticity of the sheet, now venerated in the Cathedral of Turin as the veritable piece of linen which was purchased by Joseph of Arimathea, in which the sacred body of the Redeemer was enfolded for burial.

JOHN J. GRIFFIN.

Eine Bibliothek der Symbole und Theologischer Tractate zur Bekämpfung des Priscillianismus und westgothischen Arianismus aus dem VI Jahrhundert, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der theologischen Literatur in Spanien, von Dr. Karl Künstle, Mainz, Kirchheim, 1900. 8°, pp. x + 181.

Among the publications that grace the "Researches in Christian Literature and the History of Dogma," carried on by Dr. Ehrhard and Dr. Kirsch, a contribution of Dr. Künstle, professor at the University of Freiburg in Baden, has a special interest for us. It is a scholarly examination of the contents of a very ancient manuscript of great importance for the history of Catholic doctrine and the conversion of the last Germanic tribes that clung to Arianism.¹

In this book known to Mabillon² and constantly used by such eminent modern savants in the history of the ecclesiastical tradition of ancient creeds as Caspari and Kattenbusch,³ are to be found a great number of very old ecclesiastical symbols of faith or creeds (Credo), most of them of a very pronounced anti-Arian or anti-Priscillianist character.

In its present condition the Augiensis XVIII (A) contains fifteen such symbols of faith, twelve expositions of symbols, and eighteen "tractatus" of a Trinitarian character or purpose. Besides these, it contains actually a "corpus" of expositions of the Pater Noster, and quite at the end, a fragment (twenty-four books) of the ancient Irish collection of Canons.⁴

Dr. Künstle makes it clear that originally it contained, in addition to certain liturgical pieces, the famous "Hispana" collection of Canons made in the early part of the seventh century, for he skillfully identifies A. with the codex described by the scriptor-monk Reginbert in a very ancient catalogue of the library of the monastery of Reichenau.⁵

¹The manuscript is the famous Codex Augiensis (Reichenau, xvii, membr. fol. 2 col. foliorum 90, saec. ix,) preserved at Carlsruhe in the Hof und Landesbibliothek.

²Liber in majori folio insignis, in quo habentur omnes patrum Expositiones in orationem dominicam atque etiam variae fidei confessiones, Iter Germanicum, Hamburg, 1717, p. 92.

³Caspari, Ungedruckte, unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregeln, Christiania, 1866; Das apostolische Symbol, seine Entstehung, sein geschichtlicher Sinn, seine ursprüngliche Stellung im Kultus und in der Theologie der Kirche. Ein Beitrag zur Symbolik und Dogmengeschichte. I Band. Die Grundgestalt des Symbols. Leipzig, 1894.

⁴Wasserschleben, Die Irische Kanonensammlung. Leipzig, 2d ed., 1884.

⁵Cf. Neugart, Episcopatus Constantiensis, I, 1, pp. 536-552. Here among other catalogues or inventories is one beginning: "Incipit brevis librorum, quos ego Reginbertus indignus monachus atque scriba in insula coenobii vocabulo Sindlozes Auaa sub dominatu Waldonis, Heltonis, Erielsidi et Ruadhelmi abatum eorum permissu de meo gradu scripsi aut scribere feci vel donatione amicorum suscepti."

Among the books recorded here by Reginbert, of whose very beautiful handwriting we possess yet a specimen (Küstle, *op. cit.* p. 3) is the following, indisputably identical with A. as described by Mabillon :

"Imprimis liber nuns prae grandis, in quo continentur super orationem dominicam nonnullorum catholicorum explanationes. Deinde super symbolum apostolorum quam plurimorum orthodoxorum tractationes cum caeteris de fide tractantibus diverso modo explanationibus. Et expositio de missa et de ordine ecclesiastico missae, et de ordinibus ecclesiasticis, est de ratione sacramenti baptismatis. Deinde diversi canones, id est Graeciae, Africae, Galliae Hispaniaeque. Postea decretales epistolae antistitum Romanorum, ac deinceps canones ex veteri et novo testamento compositi, postmodum diversi libri poenitentiarum."

Küstle is of opinion that A. was copied out by Reginbert, between 802 and 806. The latter would have received it, as described, by way of the Frankish kingdom, whither it had penetrated from Spain. In some Colmban monastery the Irish canons were superadded,—among its original "diversi libri poenitentiarum" was perhaps one of those Irish "Penitentials" current among the Franks in the course of the seventh century. The Alcuin fragments would be added by Reginbert himself, thus making 802 the "terminus ad quem" for the materials of the collection. Dr. Küstle follows no farther the disappearance of the "Liturgica" and the "Hispana" from A., but promises to come back to the Expositions of the Pater Noster. Nor does he pursue the questions raised by the presence of the "Collectio Hibernensis" and other Irish "cnriosa" that this unique manuscript seems to have preserved for us. His main thesis is exclusively historico-dogmatic,—the where, when, and why of the formation of this collection of doctrinal formulae against the heresies of Arius and Priscillian.

It is with increasing interest and profit that we follow his dissection of some fifty texts of creeds, creed-expositions and dogmatic treatises on the same creeds. We are moving in a world of German Arianism and Spanish Manichaeism or Priscillianism. Saint Ambrose is at one end of the scene; at the other stand councils and historical events that belong to Spain and Portugal of the latter half of the sixth century. Dr. Küstle is all in proving that when a work can throw some new light on the formation of the Apostles' Creed, on the acceptance in the West of the creed of Constantinople and a peculiar tradition of the older creed of Nice; when it can offer the oldest manuscript tradition for the theological writings of Boethius; when it can no longer be overlooked in the literary history of the Athanasian creed; when it reveals to us the true shape of the reply of Pope St. Damasus to Priscillian, adds another and unknown letter to the correspondence of

Fulgentius of Ruspæ, and perhaps another title to the list of the works of Orosius, it can no longer be overlooked by the literary historians of dogma—if not epoch-making, it is highly suggestive and illustrative, and must call forth further investigations of possibly great utility. Not only is the collection as such the work of a Spanish theologian—nay, of the Third Council of Toledo in 589—but by far the greater part of its texts are individually of Spanish provenance, thus placing in our hands a documentary history of Arianism and Priscillianism that is Spanish from every point of view. We may say of the whole collection what is said (p. 134) of a single text, that it is “die reifste Frucht der Spanischen Theologie,” from A. D. 400 to A. D. 600.

Dr. Künstle grasps firmly the thread of authentic church history as he moves along in his labyrinth, yet he bears aloft the double light of philological usage and combination. His work is very consoling, for it betrays exact academic training and therewith a prudent self-control that refuses to drive a hypothesis to exhaustion or to trifle flordily with the reader for the sake of victories of a subjective character. All this is, indeed, far from the flowing narrative of Gams—it is pick-axe and dynamite work, but at the end a new tunnel is opened, and the old scenes are viewed from a new and dazzling standpoint.

From the general conclusions of the author we would not dare to differ. They are well worked out and are likely to stand, at least in the absence of positive testimonies to the contrary; for, after all, there is no little “innere Kritik” of a constructive character in this work. The collapse of the carefully established proofs of the paganism of Boethius is a lesson of warning to all men of erndition. Dr. Künstle himself brings the most convincing “testimony” for the Christianity of Boethius. However, keen trained scent, the capacity of receiving accurately a guiding impression, an organic skill born of aptitude, experience and constant handling of a certain class of documents, a steady vigilance against certain temptations and sources of scientific shipwreck, are an enviable equipment for an explorer, and rightly create an a priori confidence in his judgments. When Dr. Künstle says (p. 144) that A. is a unique manuscript for the history of Dogma in the Middle Ages, no one will gainsay him. He can rightly claim that he is the first to reveal its importance, unsuspected by such scholars as Walch and Hahn from whose collections explorers usually start on their journeys.¹ To the thirteen most ancient symbols known to Walch and Hahn A. adds two,

¹ *Bibliotheca symbolica vetus ex monumentis quinque priorum saeculorum maxime collecta et observationibus historicis ac criticis illustrata*, Lemgoviae, 1770. *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*, von A. Hahn, Breslau (2d ed.), 1877.

the Creed of Rufinus (op. cit. No. 37, p. 86) and a hitherto unprinted creed, attributed to Saint Augustin (ibid. No. 13, p. 47). It is with all justice that the author maintains that A. offers us the oldest "Bibliotheca Symbolica" of Western Christendom. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in seinen Beziehungen zum Neuplatonismus und Mysterienwesen. Eine litterarhistorische Untersuchung, von Hugo Koch. Mainz, Kirchheim, 1900, 8°, pp. xii+276.

For some years the writings that have long gone under the name of Dionysius Areopagita have been subjected to a series of the most trying tests, especially by Catholic historians and theologians. Dr. Koch, instructor in theology at Tübingen has led the researches in the *Theologische Quartalschrift*, the *Roemische Quartalschrift*, and in *Philologus*. Almost simultaneously, a similar examination has been carried on by Father Stiglmayr, S. J., in the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, the *Zeitschrift f. Kath. Theologie* and the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. The studies of Dr. Koch lie before us under the above-mentioned title. They have been carried on in a serious scientific way—the principles of historical criticism and philology have been applied with very remarkable results. His conclusion is that whether we examine the literary form of the celebrated works or the peculiar philosophical and theological opinions of the writer, he is a genuine Neoplatonist of the school of Proclus (d. 485). Moreover, his manner of dealing with the "Mysteries," their peculiar usages, and with the conditions of "mystic" life, together with the details of his symbolism and his system of allegory, go to show that not only is he a Neoplatonist in general, but an imitator of Proclus. Still more, he often writes out Proclus and in a multitude of details leans so closely on him that the literary dependency can no longer be gainsaid. The writer of these well-known works must be called "Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita." The system of Hipler and Draeseke that allotted him to the second half of the fourth century and vouched for his good faith is no longer tenable. He deliberately sought to pass for the Areopagite,—yet he was in reality the last of the great Neoplatonists of the fifth century,—orthodox Catholic, indeed, but convinced that with the terminology and philosophy of Neoplatonism lay the victory of the future. It was, indeed, victorious, but not through its own charms; rather through the marvelous skill of this man of genius, this anonymous prince of early theologians, who created the bridge by which many peculiarities of Neoplatonism were saved from the wreck of Graeco-Roman culture and passed over into the mediæval Latin world, there to work and grow until they met with another mighty master of synthesis, St. Thomas Aquinas. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Encyclopaedie der Theologischen Wissenschaften und Methodenlehre, Cornelius Krieg. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1899; 8°, pp. xii + 279.

We owe to Professor Krieg, of Freiburg, this encyclopædic manual of theological science. Every ecclesiastical student has felt the need of some general introduction to the whole corps of sciences that he is obliged to master at least in their elements; some preliminary culture through which he shall learn how and why all the theological sciences form an organic whole, how each sprang into existence, what are its relations to kindred sciences; what are the qualities and conditions required by an aspirant to theological knowledge; what are for each theological science the most reliable works for fundamental training and direction. The work of Dr. Krieg offers reliable guidance on all these points. In the introduction, the nature of encyclopædic knowledge in general, and the history of its growth into the dignity of a special science, the nature and history of encyclopædic theological science, are treated briefly, but clearly. In the body of the work the author treats this general and preliminary theological culture from a double standpoint, synthetic and analytic. Under the first rubric he describes the general object of ecclesiastical learning, the concept, name, and history of theology as a science, the sources of knowledge out of which it draws its subject-matter, the nature of positive or Christian theology, the functions of faith and knowledge in theological science, the place of the latter in the cycle of sciences, its measure of freedom and its limitations. In a second chapter he illustrates the qualities, attributes, and necessary conditions of a theologian worthy of the name. In particular the theologian must have a special calling, talent, industry, an historico-critical sense, for theology is largely made up of history and philosophy, and employs the methods of both these sciences. He must have a suitable training in the science of Greek and Roman life and institutions, a knowledge of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, a solid preparation in the elements of philosophy, history, the natural sciences, and ecclesiastical art. These pages seem to us the most directly useful and heartfelt of the whole book,—we recommend particularly pages 108-111 on the mutual relations of theoretical knowledge and the practical exercise of the priestly calling. They should be mastered by every ecclesiastic who is tempted to think that he does his full duty to the Christian religion by the exact fulfillment of his daily or weekly round of official parochial duties. Under the rubric of Analytic Theology Dr. Krieg divides the ecclesiastical sciences under a triple heading: historical, systematic, and practical. To the former belong the sciences of the Bible and that of Church history; to the second, Apologetics, Doctrinal, and Moral Theology; to the third, Sacred Eloquence (catechetical,

homiletic, missionary), Ecclesiastical Liturgy, Ascetic Theology, and Canon Law. For each science there are some snitable paragraphs outlining its concept, the origin of its name, the history of its gradual separation from the parent body, and its establishment as a self-sufficient branch of study, a choice of works (usually German) that illustrate encyclopædically its purpose and its actual conditions. Given the dearth of such guides in our Catholic theological literature, it would be ungracious and impractical to insist on certain deficiencies, as it seems to us, of method and exposition. The work is both timely and necessary. Although written for the ecclesiastical student of Germany, it may be read with the greatest utility by all beginners and by many who are far advanced but have never set in good order the treasury of their acquired knowledge. Books like Hettinger's classic "Letters to Timotheus" and Dr. Hogan's "Clerical Studies" retain their value beside it, but do not replace it. There breathes on every page a high reverence for orderly study, for scientific development of the ecclesiastical mind; that, of course, comes naturally from one of the best known and most devoted of the university professors of Catholic Germany. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Das Testament Unseres Herrn und die Verwandten Schriften.

F. X. Funk, Mainz, Kirchheim, 1901. 8°, pp. ix + 316.

The second volume of the Mainz "Researches in Christian Literature and the History of Dogma" opens encouragingly with a notable contribution from the pen of Dr. von Funk to the literature of the lately discovered Syriac text entitled "The Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ," (Cf. BULLETIN, January, 1901, pp. 81-85). The editor of the "Apostolic Fathers" (2d ed. 1887) and the writer of the monograph on "The Apostolic Constitutions" (1891) is surely a proper authority to sum up the numerous learned discussions that this ancient text has given rise to within two years. He looks upon it as a document of Syrian origin, perhaps the work of some bishop preoccupied with an increase of important prayers in the public services of the Church (p. 309). Extrinsic and intrinsic criteria forbid us to accept, as does Father Kent (*Dublin Review*, 1900, pp. 245-274) the extremely early date of composition that the editor, Mgr. Rahmani suggests, viz., the second or third century. Neither the references to the emperors, nor the apocalyptic features, nor the apparent signs of an era of actual persecutions, withstand severe criticism. On the other hand, it seems clear that these two books of a Syriac Octateuch closely related in form to the well-known eight books of the Apostolic Constitutions (A C) are themselves, perhaps, the last development of a series of works written by Greeks on Syrian soil for the purpose of affecting the actual administration of the liturgy, the reception and formation of ecclesiastics, and the conduct of the mem-

bers of the hierarchy. Such a preoccupation was certainly very old in the Syrian Church. The "Didaskalia of the Apostles" belonging to the early part of the third century offers the first sure monument of it, to say nothing of the influence on that same document of the much earlier Didaché. Dr. von Funk rejects the hypothesis of a Montanist original for the "Testament" that would have been worked over at the end of the fourth century under Apollinarist influences. Similarly he rejects the hypothesis of a Novatian or an Audian origin,—the book was first written in Greek. Its "terminus ad quem" is about the year 500, when it is surely cited by known authors of that time, its "terminus a quo" is about the year 400, in the neighborhood of which he places the composition of its original (A C), though he would not deny the possibility for A C of an earlier origin, say 350. The bulk of this masterly specimen of literary criticism is given to the examination of the relative priority of composition of certain documents that all scholars are agreed stand in close contact with A C, especially its eighth book. These are (a) the "Egyptian Church-Ordinances," (b) a parallel-text of the same eighth book of A C lately traced out, and (c) the well-known Canons of Hippolytus (C H). This opens up the latest phase of the interesting discussion between Funk and Achelis as to the order of succession and dependency between these texts, a question of considerable interest to Church historians. Dr. von Funk seems to have solidly established the absolute priority of A C, which is a complete and certain whole, with a quasi-authoritative unbroken tradition from the fifth century on, whereas the other texts are fragmentary and repose on traditions not yet clearly traceable to their genuine origin. From the eighth book of A C derives the parallel-text just mentioned, and from that the "Egyptian Church-Ordinance," whence were drawn eventually our "Testament" and C H, the latter surely after the year 500. Achelis, on the contrary, would have it that C H is the root of this curious genesis, blossoming into the "Egyptian Church-Ordinances," from which comes the parallel-text of the eighth book of A C, that was later developed into the actual eighth book. Similarly, but independently, he opines, our "Testament" derives from the "Egyptian Church-Ordinances." Dr. von Funk and Dr. Achelis do not differ much as to the limits of time—about a century—in which these documents reached their present form, but they differ radically as to the order of their appearance. The question turns, to a considerable extent, on the date of composition of C H, which Achelis locates early in the third century, while von Funk gives excellent reasons for lowering the same to a period after the year 500. He discusses very judiciously, only to set it aside, the possibility of an anti-Nestorian tendency in the "Testament." He utters a similar judgment concerning

a probable Monophysite authorship, seeing that the work comes to us through the hands of Monophysites and was one of their most venerable canonical manuals. Considering its filiation from the eighth book of A C, and the antiquity of certain possible sources of the latter—the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, the alleged work of Hippolytus in the “Charismata” and the contemporary “praxis” of the Church,—it is quite possible that there are some very ancient elements of ecclesiastical life in our “Testament,” survivals, remnants, driftwood, out of the archaic days of Christianity. But they are overlaid with much that is of later growth. And these newer phases of Church life are interwoven with the earlier, so that an exact separation for scientific purposes is not now possible,—the analogy of our modern liturgical growth-processes amply illustrate this.

It is not easy to convey in a brief book-notice a clear notion of what a study like this one signifies. No one could attempt it who did not possess a thorough philological mastery of a multitude of broken, amorphous fragments of literary texts in several languages, of their complicated filiation and the numerous influences they underwent in long centuries of use and transcription, a sure and ready knowledge of Church discipline, its institutions and monuments, at every point of time in which these texts crop out more or less plainly, a schooled sense for doctrine as it appeared in the white heat of formulation, a trustworthy tact working safely by means of general impression, analogy, hypothesis, and the historical imagination. When we read a book like this, it is like moving across a field of broken ice or hewing one's way through a tangle of thick copse. When, in addition to long experience in the critical use of all pertinent material, a writer joins the remarkable talent of lucid and suggestive exposition that Dr. von Fnnk possesses, we have the qualities without which a masterpiece of this kind cannot be produced. The success of the “Forschungen” is assured, to the honor of Catholic historical science, if the temper and method of these earliest specimens of its purpose be maintained in the future. Let it be added that from all their brethren a word of praise is due to its collaborators for the moral courage and the sacrifices of many kinds that every such book signifies, the readers being comparatively few and the worldly remuneration comparatively small. We trust that all who can read these writings will aid by their subscriptions to support and encourage a body of Catholic men who are an ornament to the Church and a stimulus to every scientific mind.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Etude sur les Gesta Martyrum Romains, Albert Dnfoureq. Paris: Fontemoing, 1900, 8°, pp. viii + 441.

This is, perhaps, the most important work on Church History that has appeared within a twelvemonth. In less than five hundred pages are stated, examined, and decided problems of great interest, concerning which an extensive preparatory literature exists, but which had never yet been made the object of a comprehensive study, at once analytic and synthetic. Every student knows that there is a certain number of Roman martyrs, of whose sufferings we know with absolute certainty either the time and place, or the circumstances, or both. Thus Flavius Clemens, the consul; the two Domitillas, Manius Acilius Glabrio, the Christian women mentioned in the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, Saint Ignatius of Antioch, Saint Telesphorus, not to speak of Peter and Paul and the "ingens multitudo," who open those dread butcheries. So, too, there are others, confirmed by genuine writings and monuments of the third century and by such valuable fourth century documents as the Chronographer of A. D. 354. On the other hand, there is a long catalogue of Roman martyrs, localized and vouched for by churches, chapels, feasts, and a certain ancient apparatus of liturgical monuments, but for whose martyrdoms, in whole or in part, no stronger evidence can to-day be found than certain "Gesta," "Acta," "Passiones." They are, indeed, specific and positive enough, and if they were authentic, or partly so, we should have for comparatively unknown martyrs more abundant information than for the great and world-famous heroes like Flavius Clemens and Ignatius of Antioch. But are these "Gesta" and the like authentic? No one defends them as a whole—the ear-marks of a post-Constantinian origin are too glaring. But a brilliant school of men like De Rossi and Le Blant have held that they are only interpolated, that we need only to strip off the additions of a later time to find a trustworthy basis of contemporary, or almost contemporary, guarantees. M. Dnfoureq does not think so; and he comes to the discussion well equipped, especially with a knowledge of the palaeographical tradition of the "Gesta," their peculiar philology, and the local Christian monuments of Rome before the year 800. The time of their compilation is A. D. 395–595, and more particularly A. D. 499–595, i. e., the end of the fifth and the course of the sixth century—in other words, they are historical apocrypha, of great value for the Christian life, habits, morality, of the circles in which they took their actual shape, but of little or no value for the true history of the persecutions at Rome. The language is low-Latin, and very low, in vocabulary, syntax and style; the composition is like stencil-work, monotonously uniform; preoccupations foreign to the time of persecutions, at least in mode and intensity, are written large all

over this literature; it has no relations even with the so-called Hieronymian and so-called Eusebian compilations that deal with the same object and period. From p. 101 to p. 264 M. Dufourcq examines most minutely the monuments and genesis of the local traditions concerning many of these "Gesta" martyrs; these pages are a superb effort of patient and conclusive criticism—the Roman school has offered us nothing more scientific, and they betray the genius of that teacher who has opened up for us in his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* the topography of the Rome that Hormisdas and Vigilius and Gregory governed.

M. Dufourcq is inclined to believe that these "Gesta," which were unknown or unrecognized in the time of Gelasius (492-496) came gradually into prominence during the Ostrogothic period, owing partly to an increase of self-consciousness on the part of the Roman clergy, partly to their great victory over the patriarchs of Constantinople in the matter of the Acacian schism, partly to a running literary conflict with the yet stirring Manichaeans of Italy, who had never abandoned the peculiar weapon of apocryphal writings with which they began their career. The Roman clergy would fight fire with fire,—hence the rapid succession of these "Gesta" that all bear the stamp of the "cultus martyrum" in an exalted degree, and breathe an asceticism that was not natural to Roman soil, but recommended itself by Oriental examples and institutions. Then again, the color and the charm of the Orient are upon this literature,—some of its saints are specific Oriental importation. Fifth-century Byzantine are its terms of administration and intercourse. Temperament and habits are those suggested by the intimate relations nourished by the frequent embassies between Old and New Rome from 400 to 600.

The fifth council of Carthage (416) and the "Decretum" attributed to Gelasius are proof that before 500 the Western churches were wary of all such "Gesta" and "Passiones." But in the time of Pope Hadrian (772-795) they could be read in the churches. About 600 Gregory I refers to them rather slightly; not the least ingenious pages of a sometimes overingenious work are those in which M. Dufourcq identifies Gregory's "pauca quaedam in unius codicis volumine collecta" with the content of some folios of a tenth-century Vatican manuscript (Palat. Vind. lat. 357). The literary fortune of this small "*Liber Martyrum*" would thus recall the happy fate of a Numa—

"Curibus parvis et paupere terra
Missus in imperium magnum."

The monastic liturgy and the keen scent of the Church artists made the fortune of all this interesting corpus of hagiology through the Middle

Ages. It bore along in a romantic world and time the romanticized story of the persecutions. It appealed to the heart where history could only show a corpse-littered desert strewn with ashes and stained with blood. Yet, an intimate "pietas" and a certain instinct nourished by a certain class of traditions and monuments that do not survive profound social upheavals, may have kept alive many more details and even "states of mind" than the severe and exacting criticism of M. Dufourcq will allow. We cannot accept as satisfactory and final the relegation of SS. John and Paul out of the time of Julian into the persecution of Diocletian. The explanation given is too ingenious and hypothetical. Few local traditions could stand such treatment. Is it not worth recalling what Pope Agatho wrote in 680 about the decaying theological knowledge of the Romans, compatible with a strong hold on the faith?¹

This work of M. Dufourcq is likely to be the starting-point of a new literature on the "Gesta" and "Passiones." May none of its products fall beneath the volume before us for honesty and thoroughness of erudition, clearness of exposition, and mastery of all the best instruments of criticism!

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Le Developpement du Catholicisme Social depuis l'Encyclique Rerum Novarum, par Max Turmann, professeur au Collège libre des Sciences Sociales. Paris: Alcan. 8°, 1900, pp. 334.

The purpose of this volume is to indicate the trend of thought and movement in the social work of the Catholic Church since the appearance of the encyclical of Pope Leo on "The Condition of Labor" in 1891. After a brief review of the situation in 1891, the author takes up this doctrine of the Catholic social movement on Labor, Family, Professional Organization, State Intervention, Property, Capitalism, Popular Orientation of the Catholic Social Movement, International Protection of Labor. The second part of the work contains a large number of Papal documents, manifestos, resolutions adopted by Catholic congresses, projects of laws proposed by Catholics and the like. In addition, the book contains a long list of Catholic periodicals devoted to the interests of the social movement and a good bibliography.

The author promises a second volume on the history of the movement. The following from the preface indicates the spirit in which the work is written :

"The Gospel is the deep and vivifying source whence the social¹

¹Apud homines in medio gentium positos et de labore corporis quotidianum victum summa haesitatione quaerentes, quomodo ad plenum poterit inveniri Scripturarum scientia? Nisi quod quae regulariter a sanctis atque apostolicis praedecessoribus atque venerabilibus quinque Conciliis definita sunt, cum simplicitate cordis et sine ambiguitate a Patribus traditae fidei conservamus, etc. (Jaffé Regesta, no. 1624).

Christians (Chrétien sociaux) draw their inspiration. Nevertheless, possessing the sense of reality, they do not neglect the observation of facts, they believe that society ought to be governed by moral laws: and these laws should be in harmony with the law of justice and charity of which the Church is the revered guardian. Therein, it seems to us, lie the original beauty and power of the doctrines of the Catholic school."

The work is one of distinct value. The array of facts marshalled in perfect order gives the book a decided fascination, while the character and variety of the sources employed give it a real authority. The author seems to have explored every field which promised any result; in papal documents, allocutions to pilgrims, the press, congresses, parliamentary debate; wherever representative Catholics spoke with authority or acted under it, he has sought reliable statement of their thought and he has given clear and complete expression to it. The work is a valuable addition to the literature of the social question; as an exposition of a very complicated and oftentimes delicate situation, its merit is great.

The author might have added some interest to his volume had he discussed the effect of continental socialism on the Catholic movement. He may do so, however, in his next volume. Apropos of the recent encyclical of the Holy Father on Christian Democracy, it may be interesting to note that the author (p. 193) finds the first use of the phrase Christian Democracy made by the Pope in his reply to a French pilgrimage in 1898.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

L'Inquiétude Religieuse: Autes et Lendemain de Conversion. Henri Bremond, S. J. Paris: Perrin, 1901, 8°, pp. 340.

Les Infiltrations Protestantes et le Clergé Français. J. Fontaine, S. J. Paris: Retaux, 1901, 8°, pp. 288.

1. In some of the latest English publications concerning the great leaders of the Tractarian movement, Father Bremond finds material for a volume of elegant "causeries." Canon Liddon's "Life of Pusey," Ward's "Life of Wiseman," and the same author's volumes on the stirring career of his distinguished father, Purcell's "Life of Manning," are, of course, an inexhaustible mine. Father Bremond seeks in the personal histories of the great English converts the spurrings of conscience—a spiritual restlessness—under which they gradually yield to the impulse of the Holy Spirit. For the same reason he adds to his book a study on the return of M. Brunetière to a Catholic view of life and the world, a résumé of Mrs. Wilfrid Ward's novel, "One Poor Scruple," and an appreciation of the epilogue and prologue of that beautiful work, "Un Siècle," 1800–1900 (Paris: Oudin). The materials of this volume seem,

therefore, to be wanting in homogeneity—yet one note clearly disengages itself from all, and dominates all: We must return to the Redeemer, and not by the ways of pure intellect, but by the surer path of the heart, the will, conduct, according to the profound phrase of Saint Ambrose: “non in dialectica complacuit Deo saluum facere populum suum.” This work, written for the edification and orientation of Catholics of France, may be read by all with great benefit. Perhaps we might prefer to see less emphasis placed on the anti-Manning traits and details that Father Bremond culls out of the book of Mr. Purcell. Father Bremond is an enthusiast for Newman, and we recommend the book warmly to the world of admirers of the genius and function of the great Oratorian. Father Bremond has a talent of terse and luminous exposition, and writes like a man of heart and sympathy.

2. Within the last decade the younger clergy of France have given evidence of a fresh and novel grasp on several of the ecclesiastical sciences. Every one knows the merits of the Abbé Duchesne, through whom the study of Church History has been lifted again to the level it held in the days of the great Benedictines Mabillon, Martène, Ruinart, and their confrères,—nay, far higher. In other sciences, too, a generous emulation is bringing forth a small army of ecclesiastical writers, whose contributions to the *Revue Biblique*, the *Revue de Littérature et d'Histoire religieuses*, the *Revue du Clergé Français*, and other periodicals, have attracted the attention not only of Catholics, but of the principal non-Catholic scholars of Europe. In every renaissance there is, naturally, some divergence of views, some uncertainty of policy and direction. The apathy of the past, innocent or guilty, leaves the new generations in the condition of pioneers, obliged to create anew all or most of the implements and weapons with which victory is gained. Father Fontaine sees in the influence of German universities, their distinguished teachers, and their epoch-making books, a fruitful source of danger to the ecclesiastical sciences as they should be taught and illustrated. The immediate results, he says, are seen in certain articles and brochures that appear from time to time in the above-mentioned and similar publications, and which he believes are an echo of certain advanced Protestant principles of exegesis and biblical research. His polemic is generally objective and is marked by courtesy,—perhaps he runs too easily into a habit of “lecturing” the distinguished scholars whom he holds guilty of minimizing or evading Catholic truth. “Sub praetextu haeresis affligi quemquam veraciter innocentem non sinamus,” says Gregory the Great (Epp. vi, 15; Jaffé, *Regesta*, 1025). It is not a little curious to see Richard Simon again brought up on the witness-stand at the opening of the twentieth century, apropos of a profound and brilliant study of the great exegetist by the Abbé Margival.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Democracy and Empire: with Studies of their Psychological, Economic, and Moral Foundations. By Franklin Henry Giddings, M. A., Ph. D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900; pp. 357.

The main title to this work is slightly misleading. It can hardly be called a treatise bearing directly on this topic. It consists of twenty essays, most of which have appeared elsewhere and which are gathered together in one volume under the title of the first essay in the collection. There is accordingly a want of unity in the book, if we look to it as a general discussion of the subject indicated in its title; but all the essays deal with principles that have more or less bearing on the problems that are presented by "Democracy and Empire." The work has both the merits and the defects that characterize most of the work of Professor Giddings. It exhibits keen analysis, scientific caution, and lucid statement, alongside of crude generalization, unwarranted dogmatism and prediction, and an obscurity of statement that may or may not proceed from an obscurity of thought. When the author uses the Catholic Church to illustrate a point in his discussion he shows that he has only the most superficial knowledge of that institution. But to the mind of many this is a matter of little consequence. It still remains one of the paradoxes of the world of scientific thought that writers, thinkers, and teachers, whose shibboleth is *accuracy*, allow themselves the widest license when they happen to discuss the Catholic Church. Faulty analyses and misstatements of fact that would stamp their author as unscholarly and unreliable if made in any other field of inquiry are recklessly hazarded and unquestioningly accepted when they chance to refer to the Church. Professor Giddings is undoubtedly an authority in the field of Sociology, and much that he writes merits the most attentive reading; but one cannot help feeling that there is a note of finality in his pronouncements that is hardly warranted by the achievements of his science up to the present time. As yet sociology has much to learn and comparatively little to teach; and it is not the part of scientific modesty for its disciples to be over-eager to lay down for the guidance of the world precepts that are still of doubtful validity. But whether or not we are prepared to accept the teachings of Professor Giddings, his essays are worth the careful consideration of every one who is interested in the study of social forces.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

Essai sur le Systeme de Politique Etrangere de J. J. Rousseau:
La Republique Confederative des Petits Etats. Par J. L. Windenberger, LL.D. Paris: Picard, 1900, pp. 205.

Professor Windenberger, in this essay, sets himself to the task of completing the philosophy of society formulated by Rousseau. He regards

the *Contrat social* as only a partial exposé of Rousseau's system. In that work the Geneva philosopher formulates only his doctrines of the true relations that should exist between the individuals in a particular political society. To complete his system of "Political Science" there remain to be formulated the ideal relations that ought to exist between different political societies or states. From the writings of Rousseau himself, Professor Windenberger endeavors to construct that philosopher's theory of "Foreign Relations."

The essay is an interesting discussion of the "Political Science" of the eighteenth century. The deductive political philosophers of the past century rested their "systems" on a very treacherous base, and the horizon of their observations was a very circumscribed one. To Rousseau the grandeur of a state could only be in exact proportion to the relation of its territory to its population. Like the Physiocrats, he could not see beyond agriculture, and the possibilities of commerce and world-markets were not vouchsafed to him. Similarly, the politico-economic factors that were to operate with such force and rapidity in the succeeding century were beyond the ken of the eighteenth century sages. Accordingly, principles that they lay down as almost axiomatic read strangely in the light of the daily occurrences on the world-stage to-day. To Rousseau, great states were incompatible with good administration at home, or with international peace; and democracy could not hope to escape internal discord. As one reads his *a priori* proof of how all this must necessarily be so, a host of illustrations suggest themselves from contemporary history that make his philosophy read like delicate satire. But whatever the practical value of last century political philosophy may be to-day, a contribution such as this of Prof. Windenberger has a distinct historical value.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

The North Americans of Yesterday: A comparative study of North American Indian life, customs, and products, on the theory of the ethnic unity of the race. Frederick S. Dellenbaugh. New York: Putnam, 1901. 8°, pp. xxvi + 487.

This is a record of "a people whose sun has set and who therefore properly belong to yesterday" (p. vi). The author brings to the task a varied and lengthy personal experience among the American Indians, whom he proposes to designate in the future as "Amerinds," following a suggestion of the Anthropological Society of Washington. The splendid volumes of the reports of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, those of the Smithsonian Institution, the records and collections of the American Museum, Archaeological Institute, Field Columbian.

Museum, Peabody Museum, and the writings of a host of painstaking students within the last half century, are the chief sources on which he draws for the delineation of the life, character and habits of the Indians of North America. He treats successively of their language and dialects, their picture-writing, the Mexican and Central American writing in inscriptions and books,—their basketry and pottery, weaving and costume, carving and modeling, dwellings and weapons, implements and transportation, their mining and science. Then follow chapters on music and musical instruments, works and agriculture, customs and ceremonies, myths and legends, organization and government. A chapter on their origin, migrations and history serves as a summary of his scientific conclusions. The work seems to us the best catechism or manual of the Indian history that has appeared since the "Prehistoric America" of M. de Nadaillac. Its numerous excellent illustrations make recommendable reading for many who might otherwise be repelled by the subject. Mr. Dellenbaugh looks on all the Indian tribes from Alaska to Yucatan as of common origin. Before or during the early part of the glacial period that may have lasted ten to twenty thousand years (p. 435) there was on the globe a wider distribution of land-surfaces on latitudinal lines which made possible and invited latitudinal migrations—that is, human kind could move more easily across the whole habitable world (p. viii). He believes (p. 434) that the material evidences concerning the antiquity of man in America are many, but he holds that "few are entirely satisfactory." That the traces of pre-glacial man should be rare does not surprise him; he is of opinion that "races were not all of an even grade of culture before the cold period any more than now (p. viii) and therefore (p. 434), the fact that "we do not find stone implements in the North American glacial drift proves nothing concerning man's condition, presence or absence on the continent at that time. The population was almost entirely below the glacial limit, only a few inferior tribes skirting its southern fringe." These are moderate words; so, too, are the following concerning the actual time needed for the development of "Amerind" civilization on the North American continent (p. 441):

"The period of time that has elapsed since the so-called disappearance of the ice was formerly believed to be very great, but lately views on this point have been much modified. Gilbert has declared, after a study of the Niagara gorge, that the time since the ice left that region is not more than seven thousand years, perhaps less. More recent investigations have tended to confirm his suggestion of fewer years. Immediately after the recession of glacial ice, as may be seen in Alaska to-day, erosion is extremely rapid . . . it is apparent that the rate of erosion is variable, and I doubt if more than five thousand years have

passed since the ice left the vicinity of the Niagara gorge. As it still lingers in the North, far down on the Pacific side, it is *probably not more than a thousand years since its influence was powerful in affecting the climate of all the region southward.*" We could have wished that Mr. Dellenbaugh had gathered into a chapter connoted by the word "religion" or "religious" the knowledge that we possess of the "Amerind" views of God and the world, right and wrong, and similar things. There are not wanting in the book scattered notices on such points,—many would find them more useful if made accessible under one pertinent rubric. Two valuable alphabetical appendixes add to the serviceableness of this book, one of the Amerind "stocks and sub-stocks," the other of the tribe-names of the Amerinds. It would be, of course, too much to ask for a complete bibliography of the Amerind questions, yet a select list of the best books printed at home and abroad within the last ten or twenty years would have made the work a real vade-mecum, at least for beginners and amateurs, and perhaps, spurred on into this rich field some wavering vocations.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

A History of Chinese Literature, Herbert A. Giles. New York : D. Appleton & Co., 1901 ; 8°, pp. 448.

Quite independently of its intrinsic merit, this work must challenge the attention of all who love literature as a cosmopolitan thing. Mr. Giles says that "this is the first attempt made in any language, including Chinese, to produce a history of Chinese literature" (p. 5). When we reflect that the literary products of the Chinese mind began at least six centuries B. C. and have gone on unceasingly to this day, the statement of our author is startling. It is this fact which has induced him to devote a large part of his book to translations, mostly of his own making, with the exception of a few taken from Mr. Legge's "Chinese Classics." The work is divided into eight books. The first deals with the "feudal period" (600 B. C., 200 B. C.), and treats of the legendary ages, the early Chinese civilization, the origin of writing, the "five classics" of Confucius, the "four books" of Mencius, the miscellaneous writers, inscriptions, and the earliest literature of Taoism. Book II, devoted to the period of the Han dynasty (200 B. C., 200 A. D.), covers the story of the "first emperor," the "burning of the books," the poetry and history of a period which saw the introduction of Buddhism. Book III. deals with the poetry, miscellaneous literature, and classical scholarship of minor dynasties (200 A. D., 600 A. D.). Book IV. presents the vicissitudes of poetry, classical and general literature during the T'ang dynasty (600 A. D., 900 A. D.). Book V. relates the great development of literature under the Sung dynasty (900 A. D., 1200 A. D.), the invention of

block-printing, the growth of poetry and history, the production of dictionaries, encyclopædias, and works on medical jurisprudence. Book VI. treats of the annals of literature under the Mongol dynasty (1200 A. D., 1368 A. D.), poetry, the drama, the novel. Book VII. offers an outline of miscellaneous literature, materia medica, encyclopædia of agriculture, novels and plays, poetry, under the Ming dynasty (1368 A. D., 1644 A. D.). Book VIII. brings the long and fascinating story to a close, with a description of the fortunes of literature under the Manchu dynasty (1644 A. D., 1900 A. D.). It deals with the "Liao Chai," the "Hung Lou Meng," the emperors K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, classical and miscellaneous literature, poetry, wall-literature, journalism, art and humor, proverbs and maxims. A brief bibliographical note (pp. 441-442) indicates the main sources of this study, the works of Cordier, Legge, Zottoli, de Chavannes, Wylie; the catalogues of Chinese libraries in Europe; the chief periodicals devoted to Chinese literature. Here and there throughout the volume are inserted judgments of native critics, that the Western reader may see for himself how the Chinese judge their own literature. The work has, of course, an actual interest that is absorbing, and its perusal cannot fail to cast some light on the present condition of the society of China. If literature as such, faultless style, a polished taste and a manifold delicate dilettanteism, were enough to raise a nation to a high level of progress, social virtue, full manliness, a self-respecting and respected condition, the Middle Kingdom would yield to-day to no modern nation. Nevertheless, the disciples of Confucius and Mencius have not found in these goods, no more than Greece and Rome did, the panacea of life's ills, the secret of its problems, the key of happiness. Here is no splendid hope, no sublime transforming faith, no efficient view of mankind as one brotherhood under a divine Head. A low, earthy, natural view of man and life pervades this literature as here portrayed for us. Everywhere "latet anguis in herba." Corroding doubt, frivolous skepticism, immoral and wasting cynicism, seem only too often the philosophy of its true educators, the million poets and rhymers of this gifted race. Its agnostic Horaces abounded too much for the public welfare, like that sweet singer, Li Po (705 A. D., 762 A. D.), said by Mr. Giles to be the greatest poet of China:

"The dance and the song
Will be o'er by and by,
And we shall dislimn
Like the rack in the sky."

It needs no philosopher of history to say what shall be the fate of all nations who live without a supernatural faith, how surely the evil ele-

ments in humanity shall get the better of the nobler ones, how steadily the few shall enslave the many, how inevitably the pursuit of riches and pleasure shall kill out the political virtues, how quasi-hopeless for nations and peoples is the return from an Avernian journey. Even now the burden of China is on the lips of all men; her spoilers have come upon her in the night; the blood of a legion of holy martyrs cries for vengeance. We stand before one of the most wonderful acts of God in history.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Souvenirs Politiques du Comte de Salaberry sur la Restauration (1821-1830), publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine, par le Comte de Salaberry, son petit fils. 2 vols. Paris: Picard, 1900, 8°, pp. xix + 285, 330.

Kléber et Menou en Egypte depuis le départ de Bonaparte (August, 1799; September, 1801). Documents publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par M. Francois Rousseau, avec une carte. Paris: Picard, 1900, 8°, pp. lix + 455.

Une Femme de Diplomate: Lettres de Madame Reinhard à sa Mère (1798-1815) traduites de l'allemand et publiées pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par la Baronne de Wimpffen, née Reinhard, sa petite-fille. Paris, 1901: Picard, 8°, pp. xxvii + 424.

1. Under Louis XVIII (1814-1824) and Charles X (1824-1830) the author of this political retrospect was one of the most notable men in France. Descended from the most ancient nobility of Béarn, the son of a Salaberry who had left his head on the scaffold, he remained all his life an uncompromising opponent of the principles and consequences of the French Revolution. Naturally, after the July revolution (1830), that put an end to the waverings and indecision of the royalists and conservatives, Charles Marie de Salaberry was free to return to his paternal estate at Blois, where he resumed the literary life that he had interrupted for the higher duties of political life. He died in 1847, leaving an untarnished memory and the reputation of an excellent writer in many departments of literature,—history, travel, romance, and the drama, to say nothing of his political writings and his occasional articles of archæology and erudition. In his retirement he wrote the "Souvenirs Politiques," now published by his grandson. They are a valuable addition to the political sources of the period 1821-1830. The pages on the French war of intervention against the Spanish Cortes in favor of King Ferdinand (1823), on the Greek war of liberation, on the recognition of the independence of San Domingo, are worth a careful perusal. Admirer at once and opponent of Châteaubriand, de Salaberry

gives us several pen-portraits of the famous writer and statesman that are not wanting in shrewdness of insight and accuracy of analysis. The de Salaberry's were "whole" royalists, and detested the "modern" sympathies of men like Châteaubriand; Charles Marie would have rejoiced to see in vogue again the laws of Venice against public criticism of the state or religion. These pages are a faithful echo of the feelings of the royalist supporters of Louis XVIII and Charles X. In his old age the writer confesses (I., p. 126) the almost absolute domination in France of the temper and ideas of the Revolution. He was of opinion (I. 222) that the intervention in Spain had saved forever the government of the Bourbons. His characterization of the Spanish people is admirable (I. 222-229) and many will agree with him in his strictures on the conduct and character of the Greeks in their struggle for independence. There are curious details on the abbé de Latil (1761-1839), deceased Cardinal Archbishop of Reims (I. 159-161), an ecclesiastic who once thought of coming to Baltimore as a missionary. The liberty of the press, the question of the congregations, the Jesuits' and other matters of interest to the ecclesiastical history of the nineteenth century, are touched on frequently in these pages that are a kind of diary revised in later life. The names of many illustrious Frenchmen occur in these pages—Benjamin Constant, the historian Michaud, Royer-Collard, Berryer, the philosopher Cousin, the abbé De Pradt, the abbé Frayssinous, and others. De Salaberry writes a vigorous, direct French, and his judgments have no uncertain ring. He quotes abundantly the "Chansons" of the times, and loves to indulge in bits of classic Latin verse that relieve his feelings and give a learned coloring to his page. This recalls certain other traits of similarity with Montaigne—a love of anecdote, a rude freedom of criticism, a skill in vivid picturesque dialogue (I. 129; 211-214),—Gascons both, and "fins lettrés" to the finger-tips, they both exhibit in their writings a certain classical polish and grace that assort well with the most pronounced individualism, and reveal the best French ideal in literature.

2. Another addition to the well-nigh interminable literature of Napoleon Bonaparte! This time it is the correspondence of General Kléber (August 25, 1799-June 14, 1800) and of Menou (June 16, 1800-November 21, 1801). When Napoleon abruptly abandoned Egypt (August, 1799) he left behind him Kléber, with orders to hold out as long as possible and to abandon the Land of the Pharaohs only at the last extremity. He promised reinforcements, which he, perhaps, never intended to send. The position of Kléber was practically untenable,—between the sea-power of the English, the apathy and treachery of the Copts, and the not insignificant forces of the Turks, he felt compelled to agree to the

evacuation of Egypt (January 27, 1800) on more favorable conditions than England was afterward willing to grant when Napoleon had executed the coup d'état of the eighteenth Brumaire. The brilliant victory of Heliopolis in March, 1800, over the Turks brought no relief, and Kléber would have been obliged to appear at Paris before his now omnipotent enemy if he had not fallen beneath the dagger of a fanatic Mussulman (June 14, 1800). He was succeeded by Menou, governor of Cairo, an apostate to Islam and a firm believer in the possibility of establishing a French colony in Egypt. His over-hasty measures in dealing with the native population, his vexatious taxes imposed on all rich foreigners in Egypt, and the opposition of a considerable element in the army made his pompous promises vain. He succeeded only in adding economical confusion to military failure. Thus, of the two agents of Napoleon in Egypt, one was his personal enemy and only too anxious to make his way back to Paris, in all haste; the other, while fully grasping the splendid ideas of the First Consul, was incapable of putting them into execution. The entire correspondence is of the highest interest for military history, the character of the Christian Copts, the visionary ideas of the marvellous men whom the fates cast up on the theatre of human affairs in the closing years of the century of the philosophers.

3. Charles Frédéric Reinhard (1761–1837) was a German, graduate of Tübingen, who abandoned a literary career in his fatherland to join the fortunes of the Revolution. From 1791 he was an intimate friend of Talleyrand, through whom he entered the diplomatic service of his adopted country. For more than forty years, through all the vicissitudes of the political life of France, this sturdy and prudent German was one of her principal diplomats. From London to Naples, from Hamburg to Milan, in Switzerland and Saxony, among the Turks of Moldavia and at the court of Westphalia, at Frankfort and Dresden, this versatile brain found the most varied occupations. In the interim of foreign employment he held some responsible office of a diplomatic kind at Paris. Gifted with singular tact, regular and quiet in his habits, faithful and veracious in his reports, alert, cautious and impene-trable,—he was always the ideal of Talleyrand for diplomatic missions. In 1838, the aged Prince of Benevento spoke feelingly of his former subordinate before the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. Perhaps he never spoke with so much sincerity as when he said that Reinhard had the “*religion du devoir*,” that he was vigilant, far-seeing, truthful, discreet, of sober and becoming life and exterior,—“*enfin, un soin constant à donner aux actes de son gouvernement la couleur et les explications que réclamait l'intérêt des affaires qu'il avait à traiter*.” The letters that make up this volume are the correspondence of his wife, Christine

Reimarus of Hamburg, with her mother. The marriage took place in 1796, and from 1798 to 1815 this dutiful daughter never failed to transmit frequent letters to her family from the many political centres to which duty took her husband. They are very sprightly, by no means dull or erudite. The writer is no ordinary observer of men and things—no doubt, the prudent hand of Reinhard “excerpted” many a page that might have been compromising in those days of transition and overthrow. A natural feminine penchant for the persons and the affairs of her sex lends a special interest to these letters, which are a genuine contribution to the general manners of Europe at a period when old thrones were falling in every capital and new ones were being pushed into their places. Her portrait of Madame de Staël (p. 99) is faultless. The common longing for one strong man as head of France comes out vividly and truly (p. 103). Old and faithful servants of France as they are, how the higher call of “race” breaks out in their hearts when they revisit the little German “Dorf” where Reinhard was born! (p. 167.) We should never end were we to insist on all the good things shut up within these pages that do honor to the head and the heart of a woman of the Revolution.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Julien L'Apostat, Paul Allard. Paris: Lecoffre, 1900; 8°, pp. iv. + 497.

The clever historian of the Christian Persecutions needs no longer an introduction to the students of history. To an admirable talent of historical narration he adds a profound learning and a critical temper acquired in the school of De Rossi and Duchesne. Whether he writes of pagan art under the Christian emperors or tells us the tragic story of Saint Basil, or the manifold phases of slavery in contact with Christianity, or the relations of the empire with the Christian organization and spirit, M. Allard is always instructive and interesting. He has a fine and correct sympathy for all that is worthy, genuine human, naturally noble, in the world of ancient letters, institutions, and ideals. He writes usually out of the fresh and untroubled sources of the time; but his trained pen sheds color and movement over every scene that it evokes. Less statesmanlike than De Broglie, less philosophical, emotional, and prophetic than Allies, M. Allard appeals, perhaps with greater force, to the new school of students habituated to follow the web of history from start to finish, and to read critically every important narrative. Thereby an irremovable basis of fact is secured, the necessary common ground for all later contention.

The story of Julian can never lose its human interest. There is something grandly tragic, yet infinitely sad, in the mighty effort of one

who was emperor, savant, and philosopher, to push back the flood of events, to dominate the actual course of history, and to measure himself with the irresistible Conqueror of souls and hearts. He perished almost in the formulation of his challenge; but the simple boldness of it has always fascinated historians, while the apostasy, blasphemy, and vicious intentions of the man have always agitated the heart of every genuine disciple of Jesus. It is quite in keeping with the unsettled conditions of Christian faith in this age of transition that he should arouse sympathy, approval, esteem; so many are there whose affected agnosticism is only a hatred of the stern law of life as revealed by Jesus, and a thirst for that unbridled freedom of the natural man, the one dogma common to the polytheism that Jesus Christ had slain and that Julian attempted to bring again into life and authority. Only one-half of this volume is devoted to the story of Julian, from his birth to his usurpation of the throne (331-360). In a second volume M. Allard will treat of his short-lived reign, and the religious revolution that it threatened and partly created. The interest of this first volume lies in a lengthy introduction of 250 pages, that sets forth at great length the actual public conditions of paganism just previous to the succession of Julian, and, similarly, the public situation of the Christian religion at the same time and in the same places. These pages should be mastered by every teacher who undertakes to present the history of the spiritual conquest of the Graeco-Roman world,—they offer an excellent purview of the field of battle on the morrow of the victory of Constantine, and the true alignment of forces and temper of the combatants on the eve of the memorable reign of Julian.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh. James Stuart. New edition, revised, corrected, and largely rewritten by Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O. P. Dublin: Browne and Nolan; M. H. Gill and Son, 1900. Large 8°, pp. viii + 476.

Father Coleman, inspired by Cardinal Logue, offers us in this volume a re-casting of Stuart's Memoirs, a valuable work on the local antiquities of the city of Armagh. James Stuart (1764-1840) was an Irish Protestant journalist, yet his history of the Holy City of Ireland is said to have been written without bigotry, and to have merited praise for its accuracy and impartiality. Originally published at Newry, in 1819, the work had long since become antiquated, by reason of the fresher labors of distinguished historians and the publication of many historical sources not accessible in the days of Stuart. The original order of the book has been modified, the spelling and chronology corrected according to the best modern standards, extraneous or actually irrelevant matter has been

excised, lengthy supplementary notes have been added to each chapter. Were it not for a strong sense of "pietas," we do not doubt that Father Coleman would have chosen rather to rewrite the whole story than to revamp an ancient book, however meritorious, after this toilsome manner. The condition of the historical sources for Ireland is so different to-day from what it was at the beginning of this century, there are in every language so many admirable modern models of local histories, that it must have cost this scholarly Dominican a pang to execute so arduous a task. On the other hand, a sufficient history of the city of Armagh means a critical history of the foundation of the Irish Church, an undertaking that demands more time and a more manifold equipment than any other problem of the early history of the Catholic Church,—so dovetailed is that story into every phase of the great transition from the world of Greece and Rome into the world of Western mediæval Christendom,—so much nonsense, bigotry, and untenable hypothesis have been inflicted on scholars, apropos of this See, in order to justify the rending of the ancient and holy bonds of unity under Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth. From cover to cover the book will interest all who love the story of the early Irish Church. It is also, in the present form, a repository of valuable modern gains in the field of Irish ecclesiastical history. The index is very complete, but Father Coleman would have added to his merits if he had given us a bibliography, containing the full titles of all the works, general and special, "sources" and "literature," used in the somewhat complicated structure of this work. THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

August Reichensperger (1808–1895) *Sein Leben und Sein Wirken an dem Gebiet der Politik, der Kunst und der Wissenschaft, mit Benutzung seines ungedruckten Nachlasses dargestellt von Ludwig Pastor.* Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1899. 2 vols., large 8°, pp. xxiv + 606; xv + 496 (with two portraits).

Any account of August Reichensperger, however imperfect, could not fail to be a mirror of the highest life of Catholic Germany in the nineteenth century. In these volumes Dr. Pastor has narrated for posterity the story of a wonderful life, in which the reader knows not what to admire the most—the variety of supreme interests that occupied it, the dignified and consistent attitude of a man for nearly fifty years identified with all the public questions of Central Europe, the chivalrous devotion to the artistic monuments and spirit of the Middle Ages, the solid and intelligent enthusiasm of the apologist, the breadth of his sympathies, the truly Catholic nature of his political, social, and artistic ideals, the never-sagging perseverance with which he kept up to the demands that he had taught his countrymen to make upon his

energies, his counsel, his spirit of self-sacrifice, and his love for that fatherland whose history is the history of mediæval Christendom.

The Christian student of higher politics will find this work a real manual of correct principles and fearless assertion of them. This student of Bonn, Heidelberg, and Berlin, official of the Prussian state (1830-1875), stands out forever in the history of modern Catholicism as a man who caught in their entirety the best publicistic principles of the German Middle Ages, and asserted them to the end by every means that lay within his power. From 1848 to 1885 he served his country almost unceasingly as a representative to some one of the constitutional assemblies that guided its transition from a congeries of disunited states to a powerful empire. In all this time the interests of the Catholic religion were forever foremost in the minds of men, an object of hatred to some, an object of passionate love and unconquerable devotion to others. The mind of August Reichensperger was called on, during these decades, to formulate and defend essential rights and claims of Catholicism on German soil, and to do battle with a long series of most acute and earnest adversaries bent on justifying scientifically the policies that they were executing without remorse.

Peter Reichensperger, his brother, Herrmann Mallinckrodt and Ludwig Windthorst were his associates during many years, and to them belongs, in equal measure, the imperishable glory of the defence of religious equality and the imprescriptible rights of the individual as against a monstrous statolatry that was threatening with ruin all institutions that would not bow before its irresponsible will.

The name of August Reichensperger will be forever honored in the history of the fine arts. The completion of the Cathedral of Cologne according to the spirit of mediæval German Gothic is largely due to him. He was a voluminous writer on all the branches of mediæval art, and particularly interested in the popularization of its temper and its principles. His frequent journeys to England brought him into contact with the English mediævalists, notably Pugin, whose life he wrote. He was also an enthusiastic student of Shakspeare and did much to propagate in Germany the study of the great dramatist's writings. A journey into Italy in his early manhood filled him with admiration for the classical art, but also roused in him the devotion to the domestic glories of German art. France and Belgium he occasionally visited, always with the observant eye of the mediæval antiquarian. To him are owing many correct restorations of the mediæval monuments of Germany—he pleaded in vain for a Gothic edifice for the Reichstag palace at Berlin. Apologist above all, many writings of Reichensperger on politics and art were practically catechisms, manuals of principles and convictions.

They fell into willing and eager hands—he is really one of the great teachers of modern Germany, one of the lights of the Catholic lay apostolate. To him is owing in large measure the success of the Borromaeus-Union for the dissemination of good books. All his life he was a docile son of the Church, and kept up intimate relations with the eminent Catholics of other nations, such as Montalembert. But Christian artists and architects were his most beloved friends—men like Ungewitter, Steinle, Cornelius, and Pugin. Literary celebrities like Baumgartner and historians like Janssen were dear to him. His intellectual sympathies were all-embracing.

The life is almost too voluminous for ordinary readers. And the book is lacking in that “*Uebersichtlichkeit*” which is the first quality of a work destined for a wide range of readers. The enormous current literature and the extensive correspondence of Reichensperger, no doubt, are one cause of the actual unwieldy form of the book. But the numerous breaks in the narration of the political and artistic life might have been avoided by a separate treatment of these two great lines of development. Each would certainly have gained thereby. Perhaps we may yet welcome a more brief and handy edition of this admirable life of a true Christian gentleman.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Le Livre de la Prière Antique. Dom Fernand Cabrol. Paris: Oudin, 1900; 8°, pp. xviii + 573.

It is not generally known that French Benedictines of Dom Guéranger's famous Abbey of Solesmes are now established in England, at Farnborough, between London and Oxford. Here the ex-Empress Eugénie has placed sufficient land at their disposal. In return they are responsible for the care and the service of the chapel in which she has entombed the remains of her unfortunate son. Benedictine-like, they have at once gone to work at an historico-religious task of great value and magnitude, the publication of a series of “*Monumenta Liturgica*,” destined to contain all the original texts and monuments that illustrate the growth of Christian worship as far as the ninth century of our era. As a preparation for this undertaking, as delicate and difficult as it will be useful, Dom Cabrol, the prior of Saint Michael of Farnborough, publishes this popular manual of early Christian liturgy. The student will find here an account, at once readable and scientifically reliable, of the main elements of the primitive liturgy,—the psalmody with all its organic developments, the regular meetings of the Christian communities for public prayer, their oldest, most authentic, and most significant prayers. He will learn how they sanctified both time and space, those all-embracing

conditions of human life, and how thereby grew up the "Christian" year, the "Consecrations" and "Benedictions" of churches, cemeteries, and certain material elements of constant symbolic use in Christian worship,—such as water, oil, ashes, fire, lights, incense, bells. He will learn how the religion of Jesus proceeded at once to sanctify every phase of human life through its sacraments and institutions akin to the same. A last chapter of the work contains a number of the oldest prayers of the Church, arranged for daily use, for assistance at Mass, for confession and communion, and for other needs of the Christian soul. There is something pathetic in this resurrection of the public prayer of our spiritual ancestors of the Graeco-Roman world. By this process, and by the reprinting in French translation of certain very famous and very old personal prayers, Dom Cabrol strikes a deep, resounding, truly Catholic note,—the note of solidarity, nowhere so audible and ravishing as in that "Public Prayer" of the whole Church, to which Jesus Himself promised His personal presence and which His apostles made the corner-stone of the great edifice of Christian institutions. We could wish that every reader were familiar with the content of this volume,—it is at once a book of Christian prayers and a history of Christian prayer. Much modern liturgical lore is worked with skill into every one of its eight chapters, that are themselves largely made up of ancient prayers translated from Greek and Latin into smooth and correct French, not without retention of their archaic savor. Whoever reads this book will no longer ask of what utility is the study of early Church history,—"*Si quaeris circumspice.*"

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Les Moines d'Orient antérieurs au Concile de Chalcédoine (451).

Dom J. M. Besse. Paris: Oudin, 1900. 8°, pp. + 554.

From the contemporary writings that treat specially of Oriental monachism Dom Besse has gathered a multitude of details concerning the nature and functions of the monastic life in the Orient in the first two centuries of its existence. The pages of this large book are crowded with references to Cassian, and the writings that go under the names of Palladius and Rufinus, to the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, the letters of Isidore of Pelusium, the works of St. Nilus, the *Peregrinatio Silviae*, the "*Apophthegmata Patrum*," the "*Verba Seniorum*," the Rules ascribed to St. Basil, the Rule of St. Pachomius, the life of St. Antony, and other ancient historical authorities of a very special character. The Fathers of the Church, like SS. Athanasius, Jerome, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, and such Church historians as Theodoret, Sozomen and Sulpicius Severus, are as frequently invoked. The result is an earnest and extensive study at first hand of the whole world of

fourth and fifth century monasticism as it arose and developed in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, the peninsula of Mt. Sinai, Asia Minor and elsewhere in the Roman East. Rule, recruitment, promises and obligations, dress, dwelling, régime, occupations, relaxations, virtues, relations with the outside world, and the world invisible,—in a word, the whole system of monasticism from the noviciate to the grave, is here minutely described. It would only need the magic of style and feeling to cause the dry bones of this dissertation-like book to speak with an eloquence akin to the work of Montalembert. Truly, it is a wonder-world that we move in as we peruse these fascinating chapters; had Gibbon known this book he would have abated somewhat the venom with which he wrote his famous description of the monks of the East. Dom Besse has been reproached by a competent judge with an uncritical use of the “*Verba Seniorum*” and the “*Apophthegmata Patrum*,” manuals of monastic morality of a date somewhat later than the period he describes, also with an insufficient review of the literature of his subject, and a tendency to generalize from too small an array of facts. The notes swarm with misprints of every kind; especially is this the case with proper names. Withal, it is an indispensable historical summary, from Greek and Latin sources, of an institution that sprang into life with the triumph of Christianity, and has since maintained itself in good report and evil report, as an essential element of its organism. Dom Besse looks on his work as a kind of preamble to a clear understanding of the Rule of St. Benedict. This is natural to the writer of the charming work “*Le Moine Bénédictin*” (Oudin, Paris, 1899). But many others will find in it a scientific and sympathetic guide through the thousand and one sources of primitive Christian asceticism in its organized form.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Un Siècle, Mouvement du Monde de 1800 à 1900. Paris et Poitiers: H. Oudin; 8°, pp. xxv. + 914. Francs 7.50.

Among the retrospective works that appeal to the reading public at the opening of the twentieth century, the Catholic reader could not select a more representative volume than the one which lies before us. In nearly a thousand pages the most illustrious pens of Catholic France offer to the world a many-sided appreciation of the great life of humanity during the nineteenth century. Under three general rubrics—Political and Economical Movement, the Intellectual Movement, and the Religious Movement—thirty-two essays from as many distinguished specialists or otherwise competent thinkers are brought together, but in no haphazard way. The spirit, scope, and temper of a most noble Catholicism dominate the otherwise heterogeneous materials, and lend unity and order to

the whole. In the first part Marius Sepet treats of Napoleon, Etienne Lamy of Nationalities, Henri Joly of Governments, Emile Chénon of Legislation, René Pinon of the Division of the World, the Vicomte de Meaux of the New Peoples (United States, chiefly), the Comte de la Girennerie of War, Jean Brunhes of Man and the Soil, the Vicomte d'Avenel of Industry and Commerce, Count de Mun of the Social Question, Georges Goyau of the Roman Church and Modern Politics. In the second part an equally worthy list of writers appears. Eugène Tavernier describes the work of the Press, Mgr. Péchenard the history of Education, P. Lapôtre the growth of Historical Criticism, Canon Didiot the vicissitudes of Philosophy. George Humbert tells the story of Mathematics, Bernard Brunhes that of Physics and Chemistry, Maurice Arthus the fortunes of the Biological Sciences, M. Lapparent those of Geology, M. Allard the Creation of Christian Archæology, Mgr. Duchesne the development of History, Ferdinand Brunetière the fates of Literature. André Pératé writes of the Fine Arts and Camille Bellaigue of Music.

In the third part P. de la Broise outlines the history of Religion, Carra de Vaux that of non-Catholic Religions, Canon Pisani narrates the experiences of the Separated Churches, and George Fonsegrive the Struggles of the Catholic Church. P. Sertillanges depicts the Expansion of the Church, P. Bainvel the story of Catholic Dogma and Catholic Thought. The Comte d'Haussonville relates the victories of Charity. Mgr. Touchet describes the Inner Life of the Church. There is an admirable introduction by the Comte Melchior de Vogüé, and an Epilogue on Unity from Cardinal Richard. It is enough to have laid before our readers the scope and content of this work, that ought to be in the library of at least every institution of teaching as a handy manual and resumé of the politico-social, intellectual, and religious life of a century that was truly "wonderful," that stands out in bold relief against all others, that was potent for good and evil, that yet hides its full significance from humanity, uncertain whether it was a last step in apostasy from the Creator and Lord of all things or the first in the happy return to Him.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Pages Catholiques. J. K. Huysmans. Préface de M. l'Abbé Mugnier. Cinquième édition. Paris : Stock, 1900. 8°, pp. 442.

Our readers know, doubtless, the general trend of M. Huysmans' mind, the tone of his writings, and the specific color of his style. To commemorate his first steps of return to Catholicism he wrote "En Route," a work that roused much criticism, favorable and unfavorable (Cf. BULLETIN II, October, 1896, pp. 555-556). Since then he has given

- us "*La Cathédrale*," a prose-poem on mediæval architecture, inspired in the convert's breast by the glorious pile of Chartres. The brilliant disciple of Zola could not free himself at once of all the unsavory ways of indecent realism or coarse naturalism. Hence, more than one page of "*En Route*" has given offence. Yet he is genuinely penitent, claim those who have studied the man and his books. And many of his arguments for Catholicism are so curiously and exquisitely stated by this "*chef des décadents*," that selections from his writings can only do good. This is the purpose of these lengthy extracts from "*En Route*" and "*La Cathédrale*." Huysmans has lately withdrawn to a kind of lay-monastery at Ligugé near Poitiers, where he is engaged on two works of a religious character, "*Sainte Lydwine of Schiedam*" and "*L'Oblat*." There is a curious Catholic atavism, a reawakening of grace, in this incident of Huysmans' conversion. He comes back from the depths of a corrupt naturalism by way of the highest mysticism. Son of a Dutch artist, descendant of a race of artists, the most delicate spiritual instincts seem to have only slumbered in his soul, awaiting the proper hour and influence to break into action. Who will write us a philosophical history of that most astonishing mental phenomenon of the nineteenth century,—the return to the bosom of Catholicism of a chosen number of the highest intellects in every profession, every walk and rank of modern society?

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Esthétique Fondamentale. Ch. Lacouture, S. J. Paris: Retaux, 1900; pp. xvii + 422.

The science of æsthetics, especially since the days of Kant and Schiller, has followed the subjective method. What we call the beautiful exists as such in our perceptions and judgments only; it is a matter of individual appreciation. In the work before us the opposite view is taken. Beauty has an objective existence; it is a real character of real things apart from our apprehension.

This principle is developed in five books or main divisions of the work, which treat of the definition of beauty, its kinds, its degrees, its perception, and its appreciation. Two chapters are added which contain practical suggestions for artists and a classification of the fine arts.

Defining beauty as the "splendor of order," our author points out its elements, unity and variety. He adopts the well-known division of Cousin and studies the different orders of beauty, physical, intellectual, and moral. Absolute beauty is in God alone; relative beauty is found in creatures, and is of various degrees, according to their perfection. Passing from the metaphysical treatment to the psychological, we have to consider the part which each faculty plays in the perception of beauty and the laws by which the appreciation of beauty is governed.

The author is quite successful in his effort to group the elements of æsthetics around fundamental principles. His illustrations, drawn from many sources, and his references to the literature of the subject show that his work was carefully prepared. The prominence that he gives to religion has a broadening and elevating effect. What one misses is the analysis of the mental processes with which æsthetics is concerned. The experimental method is not even criticized, and the historical aspect of the subject is hardly noticed. It is certainly worth while considering to what extent our sense of the beautiful is the result of development in the individual and in the race. One could also desire a more thorough examination of the fundamental difference between the subjective method and the objective.

EDWARD A. PACE.

La Philosophie de la Nature chez les Anciens. Ch. Huit. Paris: Fontemoing, 1901; pp. 583.

It is a noteworthy fact that in an age which has good reason to view with some satisfaction its own achievements, the determination to estimate at their true value the achievements of the past is greater than it was in any preceding age. The history of thought is no longer a mere narrative of systems and theories; it links all these by the principle of development. It helps us to a better understanding of fundamental concepts by exhibiting the process of their growth. And, what is equally important, it teaches us to appreciate the spirit and the work of our predecessors. If it is indispensable for theoretical purposes, it has also a practical utility in overcoming certain prejudices which are too often a hindrance to the attainment of truth.

M. Huit's account of nature philosophy among the ancients has already received high commendation. In awarding its prize to the author, the Academy of Moral and Political Science had in view his masterly treatment of a vast and complex subject. It also noted the firmness with which he expresses his spiritualistic convictions. These, indeed, pervade the work, without, however, affecting its breadth and fairness. Or, rather let us say, that these very convictions qualify a writer to form those judgments which possess real worth for the history of philosophy. They permit, at any rate, genuine sympathy with those tendencies and aspirations which, in the earliest periods of thought, prepared the way for the severer methods of scientific research.

The first part of the present work deals with the interpretation of nature in terms of religion and of poetry. The double problem as to the nature and the origin of the world engages the thought of all primitive peoples; but its solution is not everywhere the same. To the Hebrew mind the events of the physical world are the work of Omnipotence,

and their laws are God's decrees. Among other peoples the objects of the world are deified or are worshipped as emblems of unseen superior powers. But nowhere in the Orient is the idea of nature, as we now understand it, explicitly formulated. It is only in the thought of Greece and Rome that "nature" takes on a definite meaning; and the first to shape that meaning are the poets. At the same time the attitude of the human mind towards the external world undergoes a change. Man becomes superior to that nature which, in former ages, he had looked on with dread. He finds in it the image and likeness of his own activities and passions. His mythology even substitutes for reality an artificial nature, in which gods and genii usurp the functions of physical agencies. So strong is this anthropomorphic tendency that in Rome, six centuries pass before nature arouses the poetic fancy. And even then, if man turns aside for a moment from his political and social affairs to glance at the beauty of earth and sky, he does not yield himself without reserve to nature's charm, but rather maintains his independence, his personality.

The scientific study of nature, to which M. Huit devotes the second part of his work, was undertaken by the ancients with this same human bias. That the Greeks possessed in a high degree the power of observation is beyond question; but, on the other hand, they made little or no use of experimental methods. What they gleaned by observation was translated forthwith into those metaphysical concepts which their reason had elaborated. Hence their most valuable contributions to science were purely rational truths, and their greatest progress was made in the domain of mathematics. The other sciences—physics, chemistry, biology—were not yet differentiated from philosophy. A laboratory, in the modern sense of the term, was unknown.

Nevertheless, the ancients, especially the Greeks, are our masters in many respects. It is not alone their originality, so fruitful in theories and systems, that challenges our admiration. They established on a rational basis the principles which underlie all our research. They defined and attempted boldly to solve those great problems with which we are still confronted. Solutions which they reached by a priori methods are often confirmed by the results of modern investigation. The abstract formulas of their speculation are verified by our observation and experiment. From Thales and his successors we inherit the notion of the fundamental unity of matter, though we set the ether in the place of water, air and fire. In mathematical physics, the pioneer is Pythagoras; in the atomic theory, Democritus; in all that savors of teleology, Aristotle; in the hypothesis of evolution, Anaximander, followed by Empedocles and Lucretius.

They are, moreover, our superiors in synthesis. They held together the various branches of knowledge by a systematic treatment which was at once clear and comprehensive. With them the science of man and the science of nature advanced hand in hand. That philosophy could dispense with science or that science could go its way without regard to philosophy, they never imagined. Nor would they have sanctioned that extreme specialization which, under the pretext of minute investigation, breaks our knowledge into fragments. In their judgment the progressive harmony of all lines of research was of far more consequence than the multiplication of isolated facts.

Some future historian will doubtless be able to show that the temporary divorce of philosophy and science from which we now suffer, was followed by a reaction and a final rennion. Such, at any rate, is the consummation which M. Huit desires and which his suggestive work can only hasten. It may be that the actual situation is due, in some measure, to defects in educational systems. Philosophy that should permeate and invigorate every branch of teaching and of study, is too often left to enjoy a cloistered seclusion. As a result, the student of philosophy fails to appreciate the fine details of scientific research, while the student of science takes no heed of philosophy. Appeals to history may prepare the remedy; the only way to apply it is to imitate Aristotle in the search for facts, no less than in speculative reflection on principles.

EDWARD A. PACE.

Shakespeare's Life and Work, by Sidney Lee. Macmillan, New York, 1899, 8°, 476 pp.

One of the most attractive additions of later years to Shakspearean biography, is Mr. Sidney Lee's recently published "Shakespeare's Life and Work." The book, while necessarily a compilation of facts from all sources, has not that formidable appearance which would tend to prejudice the ordinary reader against it. It is a great fault of many, biographers especially, to crowd their work with such masses of philological and historical detail as to make reading a most laborious task, and pleasure an impossibility. Mr. Lee has avoided this mistake, and in a style easy to follow, and with a trace of delicate humor, rare in books of its kind, has given us all the most important facts and references contained in the more ponderous volumes written on the same matter. These things will make the book popular with those who have neither time nor the training requisite for independent research. Primarily it is intended for the use of students as an abridgment to the same author's "Life of William Shakespeare," and the student who uses it well and often will have much reason to be grateful to the author. The references

are countless and cover all the phases of Shakspearean work. The two chapters on the Sonnets are interesting not only as a criticism but also because they give the historical development of Shakspeare as a sonneteer, and his connection with the Earl of Southampton. The Bacon-Shakspeare controversy is dismissed with becoming brevity yet with much fairness. Shakspeare's posthumous reputation is considered at some length, and there seemed to have been no more difference then as to his faults than there does now as to his merits. The opinion of Dryden, the dictator of his day, and that of Voltaire are well set forth. Voltaire was at least consistent; he criticized Shakspeare sharply at all times, and even remonstrated in a letter read before the French Academy, against the popular saying that Shakspeare was "the god of the theater." Dryden, however, repeatedly complains of Shakspeare's inequalities, and in the next breath declares him the *Æschylus* of England, being the one man of all modern and perhaps ancient poets who had the largest and most comprehensive soul. The volume is full of much valuable and interesting material. It stimulates. Another good feature is the short biographical sketches of the great actors and actresses famous for their portrayal of Shakspeare's characters, and of Shakspearean commentators. A general estimate of Shakspeare concludes the book.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

Life of the Very Rev. Felix De Andreis, C. M., First Superior of the Congregation of the Mission in the United States, and Vicar-General of Upper Louisiana. Chiefly from sketches written by the Right Rev. Bishop Rosati, C. M., First Bishop of St. Louis, Mo. With an Introduction by the Most Rev. John J. Kain, D.D., Archbishop of St. Louis. Ibid: B. Herder. 8° (with portrait), 1900, pp. 308. \$1.25.

Pioneer missionary, founder of the Seminary of "The Barrens," and of the work of the Society of the Missions in the United States, Father De Andreis appeals to all who love the story of the origins of Catholicism in our country. His virtues, labors and sacrifices are set forth in these chapters by competent and even official pens—one feels that the writers are rather reserved than excessive in their description of this apostolic man, to whom Western Catholicism is deeply indebted. The written lives of these great bishops and good priests are one of the most efficacious means of awakening new vocations and confirming those already assured. They belong to the category of the Acts of the Martyrs and the Lives of the Saints.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Der Prophet Amos, nach dem Grundtexte erklärt, K. Hartung.
Freiburg: Herder, 1898, 8° pp. 169.

This brochure of 169 pages is part of the series of Biblical Monographs which compose the "Biblische Studien," edited by Dr. Bardenhewer, of Munich, and published by the firm of B. Herder, of Freiburg.

In his short preamble the author informs us that during the last forty years and in consequence of the discovery and deciphering of the Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, the Prophetic Books of the Old Testament have received their share of attention from the learned, and that a vast literature has been written on the importance and exegesis and theology of the four greater and the twelve minor Prophets. Yet, strange as it may appear under these circumstances, the author does not remember that so much as one monograph has been written on the small but highly interesting book of Amos during this period. It is his intention to supply this deficiency by the present brochure.

The work consists of an introduction, a translation, and a commentary. In the introduction the author discusses the date of composition of the book, the circumstances of the Prophet's life, the language of the book, the relation of this to other Old Testament books, the contents of the book, and the literature of the subject (pp. 1-18).

In the first verse, which serves as a title to the entire book, it is expressly stated that the prophetic ministry of Amos was exercised "in the days of Uzziah, king of Judah," (B. C. 781-741) "and in the days of Jeroboam, king of Israel" (777-736), "two years before the earthquake." This places the date during that period when Uzziah and Jeroboam reigned contemporaneously, the one in Judah and the other in Israel (777-741). The tone of the prophecy and other internal evidence would place either the oral preaching or the writing of the book in the latter part of Jeroboam's reign, for, about that time, Jeroboam's victories abroad had secured tranquillity at home, and the tenor of the Prophet's words seems to show that Israel was in the enjoyment of peace while he was prophesying at Bethel. The other note of time, "two years before the earthquake," would, indeed, be precise enough if we only knew when the earthquake happened. Hence, the Prophet's ministry may be placed about B. C. 760.

Dr. Hartung is of opinion that Tekoa, the home of Amos, is Tekoa of Judea, a place located about four hours on foot from Jerusalem and about two hours from Bethlehem, towards the south, and on a long hill tapering off into the desert. There lived Amos, "among the herdsmen of Tekoa," and there he raised a peculiar kind of sheep, ugly-looking,

short-legged, and of stunted growth, but highly prized for the fine quality of their wool. There, too, he cultivated the sycamore tree. Poor, though independent, he was thus engaged when the divine call, with a constraining power which could not be resisted, came to him and drove him over the frontier into the Northern Kingdom to prophesy there. Amos makes no claim to being a prophet by profession, nor was he a member of any of the guilds or schools of the prophets then so common in both kingdoms. When commanded to return to his own country, "Then answered Amos, I was neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet; but I was a herdsman and a dresser of sycamore trees; and the Lord took me from following the flock and said unto me: Go, prophesy unto my people of Israel. Now, therefore, hear thou the words of the Lord." (7, 14-16.)

The judgment of St. Jerome as to the rusticity of the style of Amos was, perhaps, based more on a priori reasoning than on actual knowledge, Jerome concluding that, as a matter of course, the style of a shepherd should be rude. But modern scholars have protested against this unfavorable judgment of the early Father and contend that the language of Amos is clear, vigorous, grammatical and idiomatic, and his sentences regularly formed and well rounded. In this respect he is now considered but little inferior to the best Old Testament writers. As is natural, his images are derived chiefly from rural scenery, and frequent mention is made of harvests and threshing-floors, of sheep and goats, of lions and jackals, of flocks and herds; but much good taste is displayed in their use. Amos was evidently a man of great shrewdness and of a wide range of observation, which shows that an Oriental shepherd need not be uncultivated, even though his culture be not derived from books.

As to the relation of Amos to other Old Testament books, our author admits successive stages of development and gradual growth in divine revelation, only the growth is supernatural in character. Accordingly, at the time of Amos, there was a very considerable amount of revealed truth among the Hebrews, together with a recognized phraseology, from both of which he no doubt borrowed much. Dr. Hartung supposes that Amos' ideas and language betray an acquaintance with the Pentateuch. But it is still more clear that Amos influenced among his successors in the prophetic office, such men as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezechiel, Hosea, and many other subsequent Old Testament writers, quotations from him being clearly traceable in their works.

The book of Amos naturally divides itself into three parts. The first part, consisting of chapters 1-2, forms the introduction, in which the author shows that, as the Gentiles shall not escape punishment for

having violated the universally recognized dictates of the common law, so neither shall the chosen people escape, and for a similar reason.

The second part (3-6) consists of three speeches, each introduced by the words of warning, "Hear ye this word" (iii, i; iv, i; v, i); and in which are addressed to the ruling classes, and to the people generally, exhortations to the practice of true interior religion, and "woes" are pronounced on the wicked.

The third part (7-9) consists of a series of prophetic visions in which Amos endeavors to enforce, by means of such symbolism, the moral lessons which he had already taught the people. In the last chapter a brighter prospect is opened up before the mind of the reader. In Israel only the wicked shall be punished. The innocent shall escape. Thus the house of David receives anew the promise that to it, under the reign of the future Messiah, shall be restored the splendor which it enjoyed under David and Solomon. The unity of plan throughout the book is evident. The theme introduced in the beginning of the book is developed with ever-increasing accuracy of detail, till it blends into the Messianic promise at the close.

After the literature on the book of Amos, the author of our brochure gives a translation of the text into German, and a Commentary on the entire book, with constant reference to the Hebrew text (pp. 18-169.)

Dr. Hartung's elaborately-prepared monograph will give, if carefully read, an excellent idea of the author, history, and contents of one of the most interesting of the minor prophets. CHARLES P. GRANNAN.

The Biblical Theology of the New Testament, by Ezra P. Gould, D.D. New York: Macmillan, 1900, 8°, pp. xvi + 221.

"This book is the result of studies in Introduction to the books of the New Testament pursued by the author with his classes in the Philadelphia Divinity School." Such is the origin of the book. The aim of the author is thus indicated: "In these lectures he undertook to find his way through the New Testament, just as the critics have found a way for us through the Old Testament. Their success in this work in the Old Testament has only made more conspicuous the failure to do satisfactory work of the same kind in the New Testament."

It does not seem that the students whom Dr. Gould addresses are far advanced, for he states on the very first page: "This is quite the most important fact remaining to be learned in regard to the Bible, that it is not a homogeneous unit, but a collection of more or less heterogeneous units." Now the very tyros in Biblical studies are aware of the fact that the Bible is not a book, but a library—at least those in Catholic institutions. As an excuse for the author, I may say that he completely

ignores the work of Catholics—only once does he mention them at the end of a foot-note—contributed by two friends—about the modifications of the Protestant view of justification.

Prof. Gould published in 1896 a commentary on St. Mark in the International Commentary series. Though his volume is decidedly inferior to those of Driver, Moore, Sanday, and others, we think it better than the work before us.

The latter is biased by uncritical presuppositions; too many things are taken for granted, and when we expect to know what really was or is, we are told what should be or what could not be. To give a few instances: He divides the books of the New Testament into several classes "because of a series of contrasts which have passed from the Old Testament into the New Testament literature." Thus, there is the antagonism of priest and prophet, of prophet and scribe, the contrast of prophet and philosopher, the contrast of the Messianic idea. Evidently the scribe with his drag-net "instead of a divining-rod," does not find any favor with Dr. Gould, who decidedly prefers the prophet, though the philosopher "interests" him greatly (p. 3). But does he not put excessive reliance on the divining-rod when he utters such dogmatic pronouncements as this: "Now the note of inspiration with its accompaniment of authority belongs only to the prophetic side of Scripture"? Perhaps an attempt to prove it would not be amiss. We fail to see an axiom in such an assertion. We fear much that it will not be so easy for everybody to distinguish the prophetic side from the other sides of Scripture. The result would be, perhaps, that very little might remain strictly prophetic or inspired.

As to the origin of the Gospel, we are told that the notion that the Gospels were "in any sense familiar to the primitive Church" cannot be maintained; for "the primitive Church was Judaistic in its belief—on the contrary, the Gospels are anti-Judaistic in their teaching; writings embodying such teachings could not have grown in the soil of a Judaistic church (pp. 7-8, 51). The question is rather, did they, than could they? Yet Mark and the Logia of Matthew are apostolic, because truthful: "So trustworthy a report must have come from the circle of the Twelve." The question is not whether they must, but whether they did. Besides we were used to derive the trustworthiness from the genuineness. Prof. Gould derives the latter from the former. Then he calls his conclusion the result of a careful induction of the New Testament facts and qualifies it as "eminently satisfactory." We fail to see why.

Dr. Gould interprets away very arbitrarily the theological meaning of the term Father (p. 19). He allows no real apologetic value to miracles (p. 15). The death of Jesus is only a self-sacrifice for the good of others

(p. 33)—no true satisfaction to God for the sins of men. Jesus is not really divine; his sovereignty is only a gift for his obedience (p. 100). So, too, the writer of the Apocalypse is in unqualified opposition to Paul; the doctrinal part of Ephesians and Colossians is un-Pauline; the Pastoral Epistles do not reflect the inspiration of the Epistles of St. Paul, and belong to a later period. These and similar assertions represent fairly the teaching of our author concerning the New Testament. While we would not expect from him different conclusions, we might look for a more scientific and critical way of reaching them. On the capital point of distinction between the Synoptic Gospels and that of St. John, the divinity of Christ, we cannot learn from the vague language of Dr. Gould whether he thinks that St. John taught it or not. His interpretation of "eating and drinking," apropos of John vi, 52, is no less arbitrary than other forced and far-fetched specimens of exegesis. In general, the book of Dr. Gould has disappointed us. He was right in sending it out with considerable diffidence. Yet his failure need not discourage future writers on the biblical theology of the New Testament. They will find in these pages at least an example of how the subject should not be treated.

J. BRUNEAU.

St. Joseph's Seminary,
Dunwoodie, N. Y.

Marcellus de Bordeaux et la Syntaxe Française par Samuel Chabert. Paris: Fontemoing, 1901, 8°, Pp. 107.

Professor Chabert has made a most minute and careful study of the Latin of his little known countryman, Marcellus of Bordeaux, one of the least interesting, but by no means the least important of the Latin authors of the decadence. The object of the study was an examination of the syntax employed by Marcellus in order to discover therein, if possible, the beginnings and prototypes of French syntax. With this in view the text has been first subjected to a careful examination to find just how much Marcellus borrowed from his contemporaries and from the authorities he quotes, and how much belongs to Marcellus himself. It is made certain that there is little original in the *De Medicamentis* (for this is the work of Marcellus that has been investigated), and that he took for his model Scribonius, whom he actually copied in many places. The greatest value of the compilation, however, is that Marcellus has gathered from many quarters the remedies of all kinds which make up his pharmacopoeia and employs the popular expressions and grammatical helps, in a word the "*sermo vulgaris*" of the fifth century (for Marcellus was born in 350, and the *De Medicamentis* was written about 410). The topics examined in detail are (1) the auxiliaries of the

morphology of nouns, the use of the prepositions with case functions ; (2) the auxiliaries of the morphology of verbs, the use of tense, mood, voice and form, and (3) determinatives or helps to the meaning of the phrase, expletive or explicative words. Some of the conclusions contained in this little volume were already known to linguistic science, but all is brought out and explained with great clearness and very interestingly.

JOHN JOSEPH DUNN.

The Pillar and the Ground of the Truth: A Series of Lenten Sermons on the True Church, its Marks and Attributes. Rev. Thomas E. Cox. Chicago: J. S. Hyland & Co., 1900; 8°, pp. 253.

The present volume by Father Cox contains seven long lectures on the Church and on the notes by which she may be recognized as the Spouse of Christ. They treat of the Existence, the Unity, the Holiness, the Catholicity, the Apostolicity, the Infallibility, and the Indefectibility of the Church. These notes are some of the ornaments with which Christ has adorned His Bride, the tokens by which she may be known as His, even in the midst of innumerable rival claimants. Though often discussed before, these notes of the true Church need to be presented for the first time to each new generation of Christians, and to each generation they need to be presented from a new point of view, and from every point of view. For a clear idea of what the Church is and of her claims on the conscience of Christians is a matter of fundamental importance in every course of religious instruction to Catholics, and especially to converts. Her claims once established, all else follows as a matter of course, and the ordinary Christian may logically, and without further inquiry, accept the entire body of Catholic doctrine when proposed by the Church as to be believed because revealed. The present volume is interesting both for the matter and for the form.

Father Cox has evidently studied his theme so thoroughly as to have acquired a strong grasp on it in all its bearings. He is thus able to separate the essential from the accidental, to omit or to subordinate the latter, and to present the former in bold outline. He is also master of a style admirably adapted to the purpose of exposition. In the beginning of every lecture, by means of definition, obverse iteration, and other devices familiar to the skilful expositor, he clears the ground for the subsequent discussion of the topics in detail. The real question at issue is thus made to stand out alone and in bold relief on the mental horizon, stripped of all such accessory details as would draw away the attention of the reader from the main point under consideration. His purpose seems to be not only that the reader may, but that he must, understand what is said.

A fair sample of this method is found in the lecture on Infallibility

(p. 188), where he says: "Perhaps the right definition of Infallibility will be best reached if we begin by telling what it is not. Infallibility is not omniscience, is not revelation, is not inspiration, is not impeccability, is not inerrancy merely consequent." Then, in as many short paragraphs, he shows what is meant by each of these words, after which (p. 192) he shows positively what Infallibility is.

Every sentence is terse, complete in itself, and as well rounded and as compact as a bullet. The weight of thought in each is distinctly and severally felt, because the ideas are not too long drawn out and the sentences are not allowed to sprawl about the page. One need not read far to see with what dispatch, how thoroughly, and once for all he disposes of weighty notions in a single paragraph. Appropriate quotations from Sacred Scripture abound, and illustrations drawn from every variety of modern sources. It is a book which the clergy and the laity may read with pleasure and profit.

CHARLES P. GRANNAN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Springfield,

by Rev. John J. McCoy, P. R. Boston: The Hurd & Everts Co., 1900, 4°, pp. vii + 283.

History of the Diocese of Hartford, by Rev. James H. O'Donnell,

Boston: The Hurd & Everts Co., 1900, 4°, pp. vii + 473.

These two volumes are extracts from the bulky and comprehensive "History of the Church in New England" (Boston, 1899, 2 vols, 4°). They bear on every page the evidence of conscientious labor and intelligent use of the collected materials. It is no easy task to write history of the parochial type—the materials are scattered and scanty, the data full of *lacunae*, the story full of necessary repetitions. All the weaknesses of the annalistic style are inherent to the work. Seldom does the chronicler find an occasion to move on the higher levels of history. Yet these works are the corner-stone of the later edifice of the ecclesiastical history of the nation. And when they are well done, the future writer can hope to find in them the spirit and the habits, the daily life and the ordinary ideals of the generations whose deeds they hand down. Both these works will be found indispensable in the future. Each wants an index; an unfortunate defect. The old Spanish church bell (History of Diocese of Hartford, p. 473) was certainly not provided with its modern Spanish inscription A. D. 815. That date is, in all probability, 1815. The inscription itself seems faultily reproduced. It is a pity that more illustrations were not introduced—local monuments, signatures, ecclesiastical relics, fac-similes of historical documents, and the

like. For a work of such a costly character, the "History of the Church in New England" does not abound in a certain class of valuable illustrations that are now usually found in all local histories that aim at being final and monumental.

A Short History of Ireland, by Rev. P. S. Henneberry. The Henneberry Company, Chicago, 8°, 1901, pp. 156.

This summary of the History of Ireland is adapted by Father Henneberry from the "Bird's Eye View of Irish History" of Charles Gavan Duffy, and has had the benefit of an able revision. There is every reason why the children of the Irish race should learn, and learn accurately, the history of their forefathers. Too often has it been ignored, or falsely written, or caricatured. Therefore Father Henneberry has rendered good service in preparing for the children of our parochial schools an excellent popular sketch of Irish history, written by one who is a scholar, a statesman, a great patriot, and a man of world-wide experience. The abridgment is done with taste and a good sense of proportion, and is worthy of adoption in all schools frequented by descendants of the Irish race. In a future edition it would be well to add an index, a few good maps, a chronological table of the principal historical events and personages. Perhaps some illustrations, a short list of first-class works on Irish history, with for each a descriptive line or two, would be welcome. Finally, by using a smaller type, many paragraphs could be added to the volume, without greatly extending its size.

The Sermon on the Mount, by Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux; translated, with a short introduction, by F. M. Capes. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900, 12°, pp. 144.

The great soul of Bossuet is all in his "Meditations on the Gospels" and his "Elevations on the Mysteries." A small portion of the former is now offered to the English-speaking public—forty-seven considerations or daily reflexions that have for subject the Sermon on the Mount. "Those who have not read the Meditations and Elevations," said La Harpe, "do not know Bossuet." In these pages we have not the powerful theologian or the prophet-like historian, but the thoughts of a sincere Christian on the Word of God, put down as they arose in the mind of one to whom it was in truth as his daily bread. No more suitable booklet could be recommended for that quiet hour of spiritual reading or meditation which it is the duty of every Christian to secure from time to time.

Father Damien, An Open Letter to the Rev. Dr. Hyde, of Honolulu, with extracts from three private letters, by Robert Louis Stevenson, and an introduction by Edwin Osgood Grover. Boston: Alfred Bartlett, MCM, 12° pp. 23.

Mr. Grover, in his page of introduction, thinks this little classic "is probably the most powerful piece of apologia in English letters." It can be read forever, and with unceasing interest, as common-human are the admiration, the gratitude, and sympathy that welled up from the big heart of Stevenson when he heard of the traducing of Father Damien. The frontispiece shows the tender face of the good leper-priest. A sonnet, by H. D. Rawnsley, offers the following touching lines:

"O'er Damien's dust the broad skies bend for dome,
Stars burn for golden letters, and the sea
Shall roll perpetual anthem round his rest:
For Damien made the charnel-house life's home,
Matched love with death; and Damien's name shall be
A glorious benediction, world-possess."

In Memoriam: Jonas Gilman Clark (1815-1900). Worcester, 1900, 4°, pp. 50.

In this tasty volume are preserved certain public memorials of the munificent founder of Clark University at Worcester, Mass. Eminently a man of the people, he was always impressed with the Christian idea that the possession of great wealth meant a stewardship for the community. This conviction stands translated in the great monument that bears his name and perpetuates his fame, both at home and abroad. That he did not pass away unnoticed and unblessed by the community he had enriched is amply proven by the many sincere and eloquent tributes, resolutions, and addresses that are here piously collected.

Who's Who? An Annual Biographical Dictionary, 1901. London and New York: Macmillan Co. 8°, pp. xx + 1234. \$1.75.

The fifty-third annual issue of this useful biographical dictionary lies before us. In it the reader will find fresh and accurate information, chiefly about the most notable personages of the British Empire, the principal officers of Church and State, Army and Navy; about the universities, the press, the clubs, academies, colonial administration, parliament, and ambassadors. Not the least curious rubric is that under which (p. 72) we learn of (74) "Titled Americans."

The Three Ages of Progress, by Julius E. Devos. Milwaukee: M. H. Wiltzins, 1899, pp. v + 352 + xxxvi.

Father Devos has written a very instructive and interesting summary of general history from the view point of a Christian apologist, anxious to present in a popular and useful manner the great lessons that surely arise from the contemplation of the origin, growth, and struggles of primitive Christianity, the conversion of the barbarian nations and the long conflicts with Islam and Caesaropapism, the yet-continuing struggle inaugurated by the Reformation. It is a very earnest book, penetrated with a priestly and apostolic spirit, and contains the essence of many volumes, so far as the pulpit and the direction of souls are concerned.

The Victory of Love, by the Right Rev. J. L. Spalding, D.D., Bishop of Peoria. Notre Dame, Ind.: The Ave Maria Press. 12°, 1900, pp. 62.

Bishop Spalding's noble and thoughtful discourse, delivered at Eden Hall on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Society of the Sacred Heart, adds to the debt which all lovers and students of the higher pedagogics owe him. It is elevating and stimulating, pious in the highest sense of the word, an utterance worthy of his reputation, in every way a little masterpiece of panegyric.

Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ, by Rev. J. Puisenx, Honorary Canon and former student of the Carmelite School; translated from the French by Roderick A. McEachen, A. B. The Rosary Press, Somerset, Ohio; small 8°, 1900; pp. 195.

This brief summary of the Life of Jesus is adapted for the use of schools from the best and latest Catholic publications. The content is well distributed; there is a sober display of erudition, enough to arouse the curiosity of youthful readers; some illustrations accompany the text. While it lacks any American episcopal imprimatur, it has the approbation of the Bishop of Chalons in France, who recommends it as most useful to schools and academies. The Scripture citations are evidently translated from French translations, not the text of the Douay version.

The Heart of Pekin: Bishop Favier's Diary of the Siege, May-August, 1900. Marlier & Co., Boston, 1900; 8°, pp. 59.

This account of the hardships endured by the 3,420 Christians shut up in the precincts of the French Catholic Cathedral at Pekin during the Boxer disorders offers a surpassing interest while the memories of

those cruel days are yet fresh in the minds of men. The translation is edited by Rev. J. Freri, D. C. L., assistant general director of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, and deserves an extensive circulation as a vivid account of great sufferings bravely borne for the sake of Catholic faith.

A Troubled Heart and How it was Comforted at Last. By Charles Warren Stoddard. Notre Dame, Ind.: The Ave Maria Press. Small 12°, 1900; pp. 192.

This reprint of Dr. Stoddard's charming story of his conversion to Catholicism will be welcome to the many readers whom it has delighted and consoled. It is gotten up in the tastiest manner and deserves a wide circulation.

The Confessor After the Heart of Jesus, Considerations proposed to Priests, by Canon A. Guerra. Translated and adapted from the second Italian edition by Rev. C. van der Donckt. St. Louis: B. Herder. 12°, 1901; pp. 165. 75 cents.

In twenty-six short chapters the virtues and qualities of the confessor are here treated, in the light of the mercy, gentleness, and patience of Jesus. The little manual can be safely recommended to students for the sacred ministry and may be read with profit by those grown old in its exercise.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Teaching of Latin and Greek in the Secondary Schools. American Teachers' Series. Charles E. Bennet, A. B., and George P. Bristol, A. M. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1901.

Tractatus de Sacramentis Extremae Unctionis et Ordinis. Dessain, Mechlin, 1900.

Tractatus de Virtutibus in genere, de Virtutibus Theologicis, de Virtutibus Cardinalibus. Dessain, Mechlin, 1900.

Tractatus de Deo Trino. Auctore Laurentio Janssens, S. T. D., O. S. B., Collegii S. Anselmi in Urbe Rectore. Herder, St. Louis, 1900.

Course of Study and Teachers' Manual for the Primary and Grammar Grades of the Parochial Schools of the Diocese of Brooklyn; 8°, 1900, pp. 128.

An Advanced Catechism of Catholic Faith and Practice, based upon the Third Plenary Council Catechism, for use in the higher grades of Catholic schools. Compiled by Rev. Thomas J. O'Brien, Inspector of Parochial Schools, Diocese of Brooklyn. Chicago: D. C. McBride & Co., 1900, 8°, pp. vi + 251.

- Vom Münchener Gelehrten-Kongresse; Biblische Vorträge, herausgegeben von Prof. Bardenhewer. Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 8°. 1901, pp. 200.
- Orestes A. Brownson's Later Life: From 1856 to 1876. By Henry F. Brownson. Detroit: H. F. Brownson, 1900, 8°, pp. 629.
- The New Raccolta. Peter F. Cunningham & Son, Philadelphia, Pa., 1900, pp. 684.
- In the Beginning, by J. Guibert, S. S. Translated by G. S. Whitmarsh. New York, Benziger Bros., 1901.
- A Round of Rhymes, by Denis A. McCarthy. Boston Review Pub. Co., 1900. Pp. 104.
- The Civilizers of the Philippine Islands. Statements Concerning the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippine Islands. s. l. n. d.
- Nan Nobody, by Mary T. Waggaman. New York: Benziger. Pp. 148.
- Dimpling's Success, by Clara Mulholland. New York, Benziger. Pp. 150.
- La Jeunesse du Pérugin, Broussalle. Paris, Oudin, 1901.
- Milly Aveling, by Sara Trainer Smith. New York: Benziger, 1901. 8°, pp. 214.

NOTES AND COMMENT.

HISTORICAL, EDUCATIONAL, ETC.

22. Bibliographie Hellenique.—Where shall we find the Greek literature since the Renaissance? In four octavo volumes (A. Picard, Paris; price, 100 francs) M. Emile Legrand has collected the titles of all works published by Greeks in the seventeenth century. Bibliographical notices of the same abound. In this work M. Legrand continues his Hellenic bibliographies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, published some ten years ago. These later volumes, however, admit any work published by a Greek, in whatever language. Seven hundred and fifteen works find a treatment at the hands of M. Legrand; they represent, practically, the literary activity of the Greek College at Rome, to whose archives the author had access and under whose roof most of the native Hellenists of the seventeenth century were trained. Among the (216) unedited documents in the fourth volume are several of importance for the religious controversies of the seventeenth century between the Calvinists and the Greek Orthodox, also for the story of Cyril Lucaris. (See BULLETIN, January, 1900, p. 119.)

23. A Library for the Teaching of Ecclesiastical History.—Among other excellent results of the now famous letter of Leo XIII to the three Cardinals, de Luca, Pitra and Hergenroether, on the Study of Church History, we may count the new enterprise of the French publishing house of V. Lecoffre, Paris, begun under the above rubric. It aims at a general church history, but after the style of the latest and most useful of such publications, e. g., that of Oncken in Germany. A Baronius and a Tillemont, even a Hefele and a Rohrbacher, work too slowly; they are rare phenomena at the best; the mass of detail in material, method, application, grows so rapidly that great general church histories from individual pens are perhaps a thing of the past. More and more it falls to the specialist to present perfectly the epoch or institution or personage of whom it may be question. One may regret this, for the probable loss of personality, style, unity of conception, philosophical narration, and other benefits desirable from the old system. Facts are stubborn, and one of them is precisely the enormous mass of new information that gathers and grows daily before the eyes of the astounded teacher or worker in church history. Something is wanting between the works of Hefele, Pastor, Janssen, de Rossi, and the ordinary manuals,

something to satisfy the Catholic men and women whose culture is increasing, and who are also ever more liable to hear the history of the past from sources that are for many reasons unreliable, when not directly poisonous.

The house of Lecoffre proposes to publish a series of twenty-five or thirty volumes, each prepared by a specialist of acknowledged ability and acquired authority, under the direction of Dr. Batiffol, rector of the Institut Catholique of Toulouse. Each volume, of three to four hundred pages, will be sold separately. The subjects contemplated are: The Origin of Catholicism, Christianity and the Roman Empire, the Churches of the Roman World, the Ancient Christian Literature, the Early Theology, the Primitive Institutes of the Church, the Churches of the Barbarian World, the Churches of the Syrian World, the Byzantine Church, the Pontifical State, the Reformation of the Eleventh Century, the Priesthood and the Empire, the History of the Formation of the Canon Law, the Ecclesiastical Literature of the Middle Ages, the Mediæval Theology, the Institutions of Christendom, the Church and the Orient in the Middle Ages, the Church and the Holy See from Boniface VIII to Martin VI, the Church at the End of the Middle Ages. Other works will follow dealing with later times. They are intended to deal with the Protestant Reformation, the Council of Trent, the Church in the Orient since the XV Century, Catholic Theology since the XVI. Century, Protestantism since the Reformation, the Growth of the Church since the XVI Century, the Church and the Older Forms of Government, the Church and the Political Revolutions (1789 to 1870), the Church of To-Day.

One sees that the design is large and tempting. A very satisfactory beginning of execution exists in three volumes: "Christianity and the Roman Empire" (3d ed.), by M. Allard; "Early Greek Christian Literature," (2d ed.), by the Abbé Batiffol, and "Syriac Christian Literature," by M. Duval.

Such generous enterprises deserve the approval of translation into many languages. Catholic institutions of learning, at least, ought to patronize the whole series in the interest of their teachers and students. (V. Lecoffre, Paris, 90 Rue Bonaparte.)

24. Index Saxonicus.—Mr. Walter DeGray Birch, an official of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, has prepared an index of the names of persons that occur in the valuable "Chartularium Saxonicum," the largest collection of Anglo-Saxon charters and documents yet published. This is the most extensive Index Nominum of this period in existence, including as it does over 12,000 names found in the 1,350 documents that compose the collection. The value of such helps for the

ecclesiastical history of the Anglo-Saxons is self-evident. (Phillimore and Co., London, 1899). The same firm issues "The Chronicles of Ethelwerd," edited by the author of the "Index Saxonicus." It possesses a critical value as affording, according to the best writers of English history, the basis of an inquiry into the intricate and interesting problem of the origin and composition of the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," around which all the early history of England revolves.

25. Catholicism and the Oriental Churches.—Where shall I learn something about the history, constitution, and life of the ancient Christian churches of the Orient? The trend of the great political events of the coming century is again eastward. The minds of thinking men are again drawn to the problems of the far East, some for very human and earthly reasons; others for motives of history and archæology, still others through a mystic immortal zeal for the restoration of the primitive unity of the "torn fragments of the robe of Christ." The *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (A. Picard, Paris), now entering on its sixth volume, is a valuable mine of information. In the Orient all religious questions are intimately bound up with questions of race and nationality; these again have their roots in history. Hence the need of correct statements of the latter and of a sure criticism of all documents. In this publication the reader will find abundant materials for the study of the history of the Oriental churches,—original documents often quite new, sometimes equally valuable, in Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, as well as in Greek and Latin; historical reviews of the mediæval life of these remote and ancient peoples; studies on their rites and doctrines, their hagiology and patrology, their actual civil and religious conditions. Our Holy Father, Leo XIII, is deeply interested in the success of this and similar publications,—most of which owe their beginning to his enlightened encouragement. Its writers are men of perfect competency, among them being members of the diplomatic service of Europe in the Orient.

26. Pompeii: Its Life and Art.—Under this title, Professor August Mau, of the German Archæological Institute at Rome, offers a new work destined to keep the reader at the actual level of the ever-increasing knowledge of the daily life of the ancients, made known to us by the excavations at Pompeii (Macmillan Co., 1899). Almost countless are the books written on this subject; many of them superb specimens of the arts of engraving and binding, and the skill of the bookmaker. In this volume are offered descriptions of the latest houses excavated, the House of the Silver Wedding and the "House of the Vettii," which add no little to the previous details of Roman domestic life. The actual homes of the Romans known to us are few; at Rome only the House of Livia, and the House of Saints John and Paul, which do not compare in archæological

value with such dwellings as the "House of the Comic Poet" at Pompeii. It is curious that the oldest Christian inscription printed in De Rossi, the first inscribed monument of Christianity—a *graffito* containing the very word "Christians"—should come from the wall of a Pompeian house.

27. The "Penitential Books" of the Middle Ages.—Some fifteen years ago, the lately deceased Auxiliary Bishop of Cologne published a work, at once accepted as authoritative, on the "Penitential Books and the Penitential Discipline of the Church." Shortly before his death, he gave to the world the results of his studies on the canonical development of the penitential discipline. This stately second volume bears the title: "Die Bussbücher und das Kanonische Bussverfahren nach handschriftlichen Quellen" (L. Schwann, Düsseldorf, gr. 8°, 1898, pp. xii + 744, 30 marks.) It was no light task to master the materials of these curious soul-directories, many of them found only in dusty archives, in wretched condition for text, signs of origin, overworking, and evolution. External and internal criteria had to be won as a basis of any judgment concerning the field and the intensity of their influence. Ancient views had to be modified, new ones to be furnished a sure *assiette*. In his preface, Bishop Schmitz rightly claims that his work indicates a firmer grasp on the significance of these books as a source of the science of moral theology from the end of the seventh to the eleventh centuries, a period in which they form as it were "the nucleus of all the canonical literature." He leaves also for his readers to say, how far he has strengthened the dogmatic character of the sacrament of Penance, as it is stated in the words of St. Athanasius: "Quemadmodum homo a sacerdote baptizatus Spiritus Sancti gratia illuminatur, ita qui confitetur in poenitentia per sacerdotem Christi gratia remissionem accipit (Fragm. contra Novatianos, Migne. PL xvii, 1315 B).

The general conclusion of a scholar who has given a life-time to one subject is not only of human interest, but has a certain fixed value in any honest system of criticism. Of these penitential books, that later became the mediæval "Confessionalia" (cf. Gasquet, *Eve of the Reformation*, pp. 309-318), Bishop Schmitz says:

"In the (mediæval) penitential discipline the ethico-religious life of that period is mirrored, with all its lights and shadows, due to the ever-progressing and self-illuminating culture of Christianity. This is why the penitential literature offers to the students of social life and manners, of the science of religion, a rich mine of information on the popular life, on its past, profane and ecclesiastical. It is true that the provisions of these 'libri' present at first sight only the severe quasi-cruel norms for external works of penance; the requisitions on the penitent and the

actual satisfaction rather confirm the words of St. Ambrose (de poenit. II. 10, 96): 'Facilius inveni qui innocentiam servaverint quam qui congrue egerint poenitentiam.' Nevertheless, only a superficial observer will deny the existence at this period of interior rational convictions and a good-will for improvement. The golden background against which we must place the ecclesiastical penitential discipline is the conviction expressed in the thirty-third Psalm (v. 19): 'Juxta est Dominus iis, qui tribulati sunt corde, et humiles spiritu salvabit.' The effort to accomplish a just canonical penance betrays in the heart a persuasion that God is present in every contrite and humbled spirit, and works therein as Savior, Consoler, Renewer. These penitential measures, so often rude and gross, bear the stamp of a solemn effective gravity of thought and intention, a very high concept of the majesty and sanctity of God, in whose presence the soul shrinks faintly away for the persuasion of its guilt, and is ever more ready to attempt new endeavors of satisfaction in the spirit of the words of Tertullian (de poenit. c. 9): 'In quantum non peperceris tibi, in tantum tibi Deus, crede, parcet.' "

28. The Paris Reprint of Mansi's "Sacrorum Concillorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio."—It is well known that Mansi's collection of the councils is a treasury of documents important for Church and State, an indispensable tool for every worker, student or teacher in Church history. For years this voluminous work (81 volumes in folio) has been growing rarer; the last copies sold brought as much as \$1,250. Mr. H. Welter, bookseller and publisher of Paris, has undertaken a re-impression of this valuable book, the index volume of which has become even rarer than the others. The volumes will appear regularly until January, 1906, by which time, it is hoped, the work of reprinting will be accomplished. As Mansi's collection reaches only to 1439, M. Welter proposes to issue a series of ten or twelve similar folio volumes, in which shall be included not only printed conciliar documents wanting in the actual Mansi, but all councils up to and including that of the Vatican (1870). The latter undertaking is more difficult by far than the former,—but it is likely to be done to the satisfaction of all scholars, since it will be directed by the Abbé Martin, professor in the "Facultés Catholiques," of Lyons, with the distinguished co-operation of Mgr. Duchesne, of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, director of the Ecole Française de Rome, and the Abbé Ulysse Chevalier, Correspondant de l'Institut. In the thirty-sixth volume it is proposed to reprint from the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius (Vol. XII) the tables and concordance of Martini, Rosenmüller and Harless, by which the contents of Mansi, brought down to 1724, will be made perfectly accessible to all, and the work rendered in every sense the standard collection of the councils, independent of the

proposed addition of the last century and a half, which can always be found in the seven volumes of the Herder "*Collectio Lacensis*."

29. The Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.—In the last issue of the BULLETIN we call attention to this ancient and curious work. Its interest is not lessened by the fact that competent scholars have agreed to lower the date of its compilation to a post-Constantinian time. In it are contained and made accessible many chapters of information on the customs of the primitive Church, its intense spirit of prayer, its horror of the "*saeculum*," its loving nearness to the person of Jesus, its diaconal service, its eucharistic institutions, its places and times of worship. No one can read these chapters without severely questioning himself as to his own hold on the all-powerful first principles by which Christianity transformed the ancient society of Greece and Rome, put into that social organism, misled by a proud and self-adoring heart, a contrite and lowly heart, ready for tears and prayer and suffering. (Franz Kirchheim: Mainz, 1899; 4°, pp. lii. + 231; 25 marks.)

30. The Newest English Dictionary.—Of the making of English Dictionaries there seems no end, a clear proof of the extension of popular education and of the new needs created thereby. The "*Imperial*," "*Standard*," "*Webster*" "*Century*," and others that minister so usefully to our intellectual needs have now a powerful rival in the field in the "*Oxford Dictionary: A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*; founded mainly on materials collected by the Philological Society; edited by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, with the assistance of many scholars and men of letters." (Clarendon Press, Oxford.) When completed it will number ten volumes, containing from 12,000 to 13,000 pages, as against the 7,046 pages of the "*Century*." About half of the stupendous work is ready. Two thousand five hundred voluntary workers have contributed the material out of 100,000 books read by them, their labors being represented by some 5,000,000 quotations. It is hoped that the great work will be finished in 1909. It may be purchased in quarterly sections, in parts and in volumes, at the expense of about one cent a page.

31. The Columbian Catholic Summer School.—The next annual session of the Columbian Summer School will take place at Detroit, July 9-31. A very attractive course of lectures is offered. The Right Rev. Rector will deliver three lectures on the general subject of education. It is expected that a large number of students will avail themselves of the advantages offered by the school.

32. General Index to the American Catholic Quarterly Review.—It is a matter of satisfaction to all students that this index is now offered to the public at the paltry price of twenty-five cents. For twenty-five

years the *Quarterly* has held an eminent place in the annals of Catholic scholarship, as the sixty-four pages of this index show, with their thousand articles, many of them of surpassing interest, some of them unique, all of them timely or useful. May it live to celebrate its centenary, and still be in its prime as a champion of Catholic doctrine, interests and science!

SCIENTIFIC.

33. Black Light and Becquerel Rays.—A few years ago, while the world was yet wondering at the newly-discovered Roentgen rays, which possessed the marvellous properties of traversing opaque objects and imprinting images on sensitized photographic plates, investigations were in progress which determined the fact that like radiations could be produced by other than electrical methods. In 1896 Gustave Le Bon described in the *Comptes Rendus*, of the French Academy of Sciences, a series of experiments from which he drew the conclusion that light as we ordinarily know it is accompanied by other non-luminous rays which have the property of penetrating opaque bodies and which act on photographic plates.

These radiations and all others invisible to the human eye, but which are identified by the phenomena of producing actinic effects after passing through opaque material, were grouped together under the seemingly paradoxical appellation of black light. The work of Le Bon was repeated by many others, and though a few savants agreed with his conclusions, the great majority of scientists ascribed the production of the images obtained by his experiments to entirely local conditions, such, for example, as phosphorescence induced in the gelatine film of the plates employed.

About this same time Becquerel called the attention of scientists to the fact that the metal uranium and its salts possessed the property of emitting, though in a very feeble manner, radiations which penetrate opaque bodies and produce photographic impressions. Like the Roentgen rays, these Becquerel rays rendered gases through which they passed conductors of electricity, but, unlike the former, they were capable of being refracted.

34. Polonium, Radium and Actinium.—An examination of other substances resulted in the discovery by Schmidt that thorium and its compounds were radio-active, and it was shown by Madame Curie that pitchblende, a mineral containing uranium, was much more active than the metal itself.

This latter fact gave rise to the suspicion that the activity of uranium might be due to some minute impurity, and M. and Madame

Curie made a most careful and detailed chemical examination of pitchblende, with the result that they succeeded in isolating from a great mass of material a few grains of a body free from uranium, and 400 times as radio-active. This new substance was similar to bismuth in many of its reactions, but possessed such other distinctive qualities that its discoverers deemed it probably a new element and named it polonium, after the native place of Mme. Curie.

Its superiority to uranium in the power of emitting Becquerel rays is shown by the fact that it requires but three minutes in which to produce an impression on a photographic plate such as uranium rays produce in one hour. It also excites fluorescence in the barium platino-cyanide screens which are used to render the X rays visible.

Continued work on pitchblende by these same investigators in conjunction with Bemont brought to light a fourth radio-active element, similar to barium in its chemical properties, but differentiated from it by its spectrum. This new substance, which was called radium, possessed a radio-activity 17,000 times as great as that of uranium. Radium also excites fluorescence in barium-platino-cyanide screens and communicates to inactive substances a radio-activity lasting several days, differing in this latter particular from the Roentgen rays inasmuch as the radiations induced by the latter cease with the exciting cause.

Pitchblende yielded another new substance in 1899, when Debierne obtained from it a small quantity of a substance which he named actinium, and which emitted rays similar to those obtained from radium.

35. Recent Developments in Radio-Activity.—Sir William Crookes, whose elaborate researches on radiant matter are well known to the scientific world, announced in the year just elapsed that the radio-activity of uranium and its salts was not an inherent property of the element, but was due to the presence of a foreign body which he designated for the present as UrX.

Attempts to identify UrX with polonium and radium did not succeed. A few months ago Hofmann and Strauss announced that they had obtained some lead salts capable of giving off Becquerel rays. Later researches of the same investigators which have just reached us show that the activity was due to the presence of a radio-active substance which could not be identified with any known element, and which lost its activity after several months, regaining it, however, after a short exposure to X rays.

That the Becquerel, like the Roentgen rays, were capable of exerting injurious physiological action was shown by Walkhoff and Giesel, the latter of whom kept a capsule containing a few grains of a radium salt

in contact with his arm for two hours, with the result that the skin became inflamed and blistered.

From a scientific standpoint the most striking property of the Becquerel rays is their permanency. Their actinic properties, their action on photographic plates, the excitation of fluorescence in barium-platino-cyanide, and the ionisation of gases represent an expenditure of energy the determination of the nature and source of which seems an intricate problem.

In this regard Sir William Crookes offers the opinion that the radiant activity of the new bodies is due to some constantly regenerating and hitherto unsuspected source. The new elements, if such they are, possess a structure so dense that they are enabled to throw off the slow-moving molecules of the atmosphere, while the quick-moving ones, smashing on to the surface, have their energy reduced, whilst that of the body is correspondingly increased, and makes itself felt in radio-activity. On the other hand, Curie demonstrated that radium gives off rays, some of which may be deflected by a magnet, and these latter, at least, are due to material emissions.

The objection that if this view be correct the radium ought to lose in weight is met by the utter impracticability of measuring this loss, which would require one million years in order to amount to one milligram.

The appearance of these new elements endowed with such marvellous properties has opened up a new field of scientific research the culture of which may result in a decided modification of our views of the nature of matter.

36. Artificial Silk.—As early as 1734 the French naturalist, René de Réaume, called the attention of chemists to the possibility of making silk artificially. In his "*Memoirs pour servir a l'histoire des insectes*" this savant thought the task easy of accomplishment, for he showed that the natural product was only a gummy solution which had hardened. Over one hundred and fifty years had elapsed, however, before the problem was seriously undertaken, with the result that there are now in operation in several European countries factories for the production of artificial silk, daily converting wood, glue, leather, and rags discarded by poverty into the richest fabrics known to luxury.

There are three processes of manufacture, known respectively as the collodion, gelatine, and cellulose methods, from the substances which form the base of the fabric.

Collodion, chemically, is a nitro-cellulose. Cellulose, in form of cotton, wood pulp, or rags, is submitted to nitration, as in the making of gun cotton, and the product dissolved in a mixture of alcohol and ether. This solution is then forced by great pressure through a disk

containing a great number of capillary perforations into a vessel of water, wherein it coagulates in the form of numerous fine fibres. These are collected, and as they consist mainly of nitro-cellulose, are exceedingly and suddenly combustible, hence very unsuitable for textile purposes. This property, however, may be removed by chemical methods to such an extent that the threads are no more inflammable than ordinary cotton.

Silk made by the gelatine process has this in common with the natural article, that it is an animal product; and further, it possesses the advantage over other artificial silks in the fact that it can be made in any color.

In the process of manufacture a thick solution of gelatine and glue is subjected to pressure which forces it through a number of nipples with very fine openings on to an endless traveling band which bears the tiny lines of glue into an atmosphere in which they dry quickly. They are then wound on reels and subjected to the vapor of formaldehyde which renders them insoluble in water. The silk is then twisted and wound by the usual methods.

The cellulose process consists in dissolving cotton in an ammoniacal solution of copper oxide, which is then filtered and coagulated in threads by passage through fine openings into dilute sulphuric acid.

The artificial silks present a more brilliant lustre than the natural ones; they do not, however, resist water to any great extent, and on account of this, are used only for draperies and other decorative effects, and purposes which necessitate, if any, only a dry cleaning.

They also compare unfavorably with the natural material in some other points, so that, though these objections may disappear as processes perfect themselves, the silk-worm need not as yet look up new fields of labor.

37. Incombustible Wood.—Efforts to devise some methods of rendering wood fireproof or so difficultly combustible as to prevent the spreading of a conflagration have occupied inventors for a great many years. During this period a number of methods have been brought to the notice of the public and have met with varying success. As a rule, the processes have been too expensive to permit more than a limited application, and have engendered in the wood properties and defects which further restricted its use.

The principle underlying such treatment as has hitherto been attempted consists in filling the pores of the wood with some nonvolatile, insoluble salt. This has been accomplished by impregnating the wood with a solution containing one of the constituents of such a salt, and following this with a solution holding the other component, which

causes a precipitation of the insoluble preservative in the cells of the wood. In the earliest method which seemed to promise success, the wood was placed in an air-tight iron cylinder. From this the air was then exhausted, and a solution of iron sulphate forced into the cylinder until it penetrated to the very heart of the wood. The excess of liquor was then removed, and a solution of calcium chloride was pumped into the receiver. This resulted in filling the cells of the wood with a non-volatile, insoluble deposit of sulphate of lime, or plaster. Another process consisted in impregnating the wood with chloride of zinc, but as this compound is easily soluble in water, its injection was followed by a thin solution of glue and this by one of the tannin, the reaction of the two latter substances forming small particles of artificial leather which plugged the capillary passages of the fibres and prevented the escape of the chloride of zinc.

Electrolytic deposition also has been attempted, with some success, and the woodwork of several of our war vessels has been rendered fire-proof by this method. The difficulties to be overcome, in elaborating a successful method have been numerous. The ideal process should increase the weight of the wood very little, and the latter should lose none of its strength by the treatment, nor should it act corrosively on metals in contact with it. Its incombustibility should be permanent, therefore it ought not to contain soluble or deliquescent salts. It should not be discolored and should be easily worked and capable of holding paint and varnish.

There can be no doubt but that wood possessing the above mentioned qualifications, prepared by a comparatively inexpensive process, would find extensive application and prove to be of incalculable benefit.

38. Fireproof Structures of Wood.—The daily press has recently described experiments which seem to indicate that the long desired successful fire-proofing of wood has been achieved. Demonstrations of the incombustibility of wood prepared by the Ferrell process, a method based on the first principle described above, have been made in several cities before representatives of the various professions and industries interested in the structural use of wood.

In one case a small house was built of wood that had undergone treatment a year before, a number of different woods being used in its construction and finish. Under, inside and about the house were placed heaps of kindlings and shavings, which were set on fire. In a few minutes the entire structure was enveloped in a seething mass of flame, which endured for a full hour, being reinforced from time to time by the addition of fresh fuel. When the flames died out the house was opened for inspection and though it was found out that the boards were blackened and superficially charred, the floor, walls and roof were sound, and the building remained structurally intact.

The building experts present testified that the wooden structure had withstood an ordeal that would have ruined many so-called fire-proof buildings. Another experiment consisted in testing the effects of fire on a box made of fire-proof wood, which was filled with manuscripts and pamphlets. Sticks of pitch pine having been placed around and upon the box, these were saturated with oil and inflamed. The fire lasted nearly twenty-five minutes, and when the box was opened, its contents were found unscorched. Shavings and sawdust of fire-proof wood were soaked in benzine and ignited; but the benzine burned off, charring, but not inflaming the shavings.

The ratio of the cost of fire-proofing to the total cost of a building varies according to the nature of the structure. For example, in the case of a wooden sea-side cottage, costing \$3,000.00, the cost of the wood was \$645.00, and \$1,050.00 was the charge for fire-proofing the same. This was 35 per cent. of the total cost of the house, which is not at all an exorbitant rate if one considers the increase in comfort and confidence one feels in living in a sea-side or mountain cottage emancipated from the dread of a possible conflagration.

The cost of fire-proofing the wood used in a stone residence costing \$14,000 was 18 per cent. of the total, and in the case of a \$400,000 fire-proof office building, the ratio was less than 2 per cent. One can easily see the advantage of using such fire-proof wood in the finish of churches, particularly in the sanctuary, and about the furnace and boiler rooms, the prolific sources of nearly every fire which worked damage to such edifices. It is to be hoped that the availability of this new incombustible material will prevent or lessen the too frequent holocausts which occur in asylums, boarding schools and other institutions.

39. Arsenic, Beer and Glucose.—There prevailed in Manchester, England, during the summer of last year an epidemic of arsenical poisoning, the cause of which eluded for some time the anxious scrutiny of the local health authorities. The assistance of the highest analytical skill of Great Britain was evoked, with the result that the noxious element was located in the beer on sale in the city. The announcement of this fact was received with dire consternation and enforced a total abstinence which was rendered unbearable by the sight of the merry streams of foaming beverage which wended their way to the sewers with a prodigality unsurpassed even in the recent anti-saloon disturbances in one of our Western States.

Further investigation showed that the brewers were accustomed to give body and strength to their product by the addition of glucose, in the manufacture of which sulphuric acid is used, and this latter compound is nearly always contaminated with arsenic introduced therein from the pyrites of which it is made.

This arsenic should be eliminated by proper methods of refining, but as the extent of the purification is limited by its cost and the pressure of competition, it is possible that some glucose reaches the market contaminated with arsenic sufficient to produce toxic effects.

Commercial glucose is a syrup composed of low sugars and gum, principally maltose, dextrose and dextrine, and in Europe is prepared from potatoes. The potato consists of 20 per cent. of starch, 75 per cent. of water and 5 per cent. of other substances. When the starch is boiled with mineral acids water combines with it, a process known as hydrolysis, and it is converted into dextrose, maltose and dextrine, which mixture, freed from the acid and concentrated, forms the glucose of commerce.

It finds extensive use in many industries, in the manufacture of artificial honey, vinegar, beverages, table syrups, jellies and confectionery.

Its services, therefore, are almost entirely alimentary, hence it is of the utmost importance that glucose enter market unaccompanied by impurities capable of producing injurious effects. Experiments have been made in various countries for the purpose of determining if possible, the presence of injurious substances in glucose. In Germany where potato sugar is used as an addition to poor wine, some of the results indicated that injurious products were formed by fermentation while others indicated that this was not so.

The question was investigated in this country in 1884, by the National Academy of Science at the request of the Commission of Internal Revenue, apropos of proposed legislation to prohibit the addition of glucose to beer. Nearly all the glucose made in the United States is derived from corn-starch, hence the conclusions drawn from an investigation of that manufactured from potato starch, even if they were determinative, could not necessarily be applied to the former.

The experiments took place in the laboratory of one of our leading universities and endured for two months, during which time, two of the students of the institution heroically lent themselves to the work. Large quantities of beer, to which glucose had been added during the process of brewing, were consumed, due precautions being taken to eliminate the exaggerated personal equation that this inordinate indulgence would occasion.

The water, alcohol and other volatile products were removed from five quarts of beer by boiling it down to a small quantity, and the highly unpalatable residue was taken internally by the two students in doses equivalent to two quarts of beer. This was done at different hours of the day, before and after meals, repeatedly for two months, during which time the health of the students remained in excellent condition.

It was, therefore, concluded that glucose made from corn-starch was not unwholesome and the products of its fermentation were not injurious to health.

Another Mexican Codex: Codice Rios, Vaticano 3738.

The Duke de Loubat has added to his numerous acts of generosity toward the University the gift of a copy of his splendid photochromographic reproduction of one of the most famous codices in the Vatican, the Codice Rios, 3738. This manuscript, formerly accessible only to a few scholars, in its complete and original condition, is now within reach of all who can visit the favored libraries that contain a copy of the Duke de Loubat's work.¹

From the introduction to this splendid codex we learn that it is one of those figured codices of the second half of the sixteenth century which served to retain some genuine knowledge of the ancient pagan Indian life. The original "Codicci figurati" had been long pursued by the government and the missionaries. They fomented idolatry, and served to rouse the dormant cruelty of the Aztec masses. Sometimes they were yet daubed with the sacrificial blood of unfortunate human beings (Cf. Icazbalceta, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, primer obispo y arzobispo de México, 1881, and the same, Descripción de Antigüedades Mexicanas, México, 1896). In the latter half of the sixteenth century both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities grew anxious to preserve these ancient codices of the pre-Spanish time; but they had nearly all disappeared.

¹Il Manoscritto Messicano Vaticano detto il Codice Rios, riprodotto in fotocromografia a spese di Sua Eccellenza il Duca di Loubat, per cura della Biblioteca Vaticana, Roma, Stabilimento Danesi, 1900. In folio, (with an introduction in Italian.)

We reproduce here with pleasure the titles of the other Mexican Codices of which the University has received from the Duke de Loubat a copy:

Il Manoscritto Messicano Vaticano 8774, riprodotto in fotocromografia a spese di Sua Eccellenza il Duca di Loubat, a cura della Biblioteca Vaticana, Roma. Stabilimento Danesi, 1896. In folio.

Il Manoscritto Messicano Borgiano del Museo Etrusco della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fede, riprodotto in fotocromografia a spese di sua Eccellenza il Duca di Loubat, a cura della Biblioteca Vaticana, Roma. Stabilimento Danesi, 1898. In folio.

Descripción del Codice Cosplano pictórico de los antiguos Nahuas que se conserva en la Biblioteca de la Universidad. Codex Telleriano—Remensis, Manuscrit Mexicain du Cabinet de M. Ch. Le Tellier, Archevêque de Reims, à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. Mex. No. 385). Aux frais du Duc de Loubat, et précédé d'une introduction, contenant la transcription complète des anciens commentaires Hispano—Mexicains, par le Dr. E. T. Hamy. Paris: 1899, in folio.

Other reproductions of the same character are: Codex Borbonicus. Manuscrit Mexicain de la Bibliothèque du Palais Bourbon (livre divinatoire et rituel figuré) publié en fac-simile et précédé d'un commentaire explicatif. Par M. E. T. Hamy. Paris: Leroux, 1897. In folio.

Descripción Historia y Exposición del Codice pictórico de los antiguos Nahuas que se conserva en la Cámara de Diputados de París (antiguo Palais Bourbon) por F. Del Paso y Troncoso, Director del Museo Nacional de México. Florencia, 1899. In folio.

Moreover, the knowledge of their contents was held by only a few of the ancient chiefs or principal men. These were called upon to explain the old pagan rituals and to copy them. Their explanations were occasionally inserted in such copies.¹ Thus, two kind of "Codicis Messicani" have come down to us, the genuine pagan rituals and their copies made by Christian Indians and glossed by them. Their other traditions were also gathered by the Indians at the suggestion of the Spaniards, and so we have such books as the "Historia Chicomeca" and the *Crónica Mexicana*. To this literary activity we owe the labors of Duran, Sahagun, de Torquemada, de Motolinia o Benavente, de Tovar, de Acosta, de Mendieta, and other writers whose works make up the abundant and historical literature of the second century after the Conquest. Icazbalceta treats of them in his "Historiadores de México," and of late years new and better editions of their writings have begun to appear. Like the most learned of them, P. Tovar, they depended on these old codices for their information as to the past, and fifty years after the Conquest it was difficult to find natives who could interpret such remaining ones as the noble Borgian Mexican manuscript, of which the University possesses a facsimile through the generosity of the Duke de Loubat (cf. *BULLETIN*, vol. IV, 1898, pp. 538-539).

The present Codex is a copy of some older pagan ritual, or rather a duplicate of such a Mexican copy, made at Rome by some Italian ignorant of the geography, languages, and history of Mexico. By certain ingenious arguments, the writer of the Introduction concludes that the Codex was brought to Rome from Mexico by some Jesuit missionary, and found its way into the Vatican, either during the librarianship of Cardinal Sirleti (1572-1585) or that of Cardinal Carafa (1585-1591). It is referred to by P. Acosta (S. J.) in 1590 in his quarto "Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias," and has been often quoted since then by such antiquarians as Warburton, Barthélémy, Fábrega, Zoega, and Humboldt.

It appears first in the famous Catalogue of the Vatican Archives begun by Rainaldi, where, after some hesitation, it is finally marked with the number 3738, is said to be "cartaceo" and to treat of "Indorum cultus, idololatria et mores." It was originally bound in black leather, but in the last century was rebound in red, and now bears the "stemmata" of Pius IX and of Cardinal Pitra, Librarian of the Vatican (1869-1889). The ink used in copying it contained too much vitriol, like other

¹Se i codici figurati precolombiani sono di maggior pregio per la loro antichità ed originalità, quelli del tempo dopo la conquista sono ad essi superiori, non solamente per le utilissime notizie storiche che i moderni ci danno intorno agli antichi popoli Messicani, ma bensì per il validissimo aiuto che i dotti da essi hanno per decifrare in qual che parte anche i codici anteriori alla conquista e per spiegare la stragrande moltitudine di figure geroglifiche, scolpite sui grandiosi monumenti di quella epoca. Codice De Rios, Introd., p. 1.

Italian inks of the sixteenth century, and thus has led to a certain corrosion of the leaves. The paintings are rude and inelegant, unlike the fine and accurate work of Codex Mendoza. The handwriting is often abbreviated, executed with negligence, and by a scribe who had great difficulty in deciphering his original.

The learned Del Paso y Troncoso thinks he discovers two hands in the execution of the Codex. It gets its name from "F. Pietro de los Rios" who is quoted in 1592 as its author or compiler. It seems to be one relic of a large and valuable miscellaneous collection that made its way into the Vatican before the end of the sixteenth century, and has evidently some relation to the original authorities used by Duran (O. P.) for his "*Historia de las Indias de Nueva España ed Islas de Tierra Nueva* (found, 1854, in the Escorial, edited by Ramirez. 2 vols., 4°. Mexico, 1867). The romantic story of such works is illustrated by Reville in the "*Revue des Bibliothèques*" for 1898 (*Antiquités Mexicaines; Les aventures d'une Collection*).

This codex was first printed by the ill-fated Lord Kingsborough in his splendid "*Antiquities of Mexico*," but with inexact reproduction of color and design. Moreover, the text (English translation) was separated from the pictures with which it is interwoven, the former being in vol. VI, the latter in vol. II, of Kingsborough's monumental work. All Mexicanists and Americanists will once more thank the Duke de Loubat as their princely Maecenas; likewise Leo XIII, through whose goodness this treasure has been made accessible to the skill of our modern artists and bookmakers. The reprinted Codex is bound in white leather with overlapping protecting flaps, and has the arms of Leo XIII stamped on the cover.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Mass for Living Benefactors.—The Mass for our benefactors who are yet with us was said January 5th. Professors and students cherish affectionately the memories of those generous men and women who, from the beginning, have had faith in this holy enterprise, and have held up the hands of those who are engaged in it. Nothing is more sacred in the eyes of the Catholic Church than the cause of education, and that is intimately bound up with the welfare of our system of higher education. Therefore the friends of the latter work are engaged with us in an undertaking that is at once pleasing to God, creditable and useful to His Church on earth, and thereby to all humanity.

Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul.—The feast of the Faculty of Theology was celebrated as usual on January 25th. The High Mass was celebrated by Very Rev. J. B. Descreux, S. M., President of the Marist College. Rev. Dr. John T. Creagh, Associate Professor of Canon Law, delivered the sermon.

Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas.—The patronal feast of the Faculty of Philosophy was observed March 7. The High Mass was celebrated by the Very Rev. J. A. Burns, C. S. C., President of the Holy Cross College. The sermon was delivered by Rev. Dr. Michael F. Dinneen, professor of Philosophy in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore.

Washington's Birthday.—Very Rev. Walter Elliott, C. S. P., President of Saint Thomas' College, delivered the usual discourse on Washington's Birthday, at Carroll Institute. Father Elliott spoke on "American Citizenship." The lecture was well attended.

Spiritual Retreat.—The usual spiritual retreat was given this year by Right Rev. Bishop Donohue, of Wheeling, from Wednesday, February 20th to Sunday, February 24th.

Winter Course of Public Lectures.—The Hon. Carroll D. Wright delivered three lectures on economico-social subjects. January 30th, "Labor Legislation in the United States;" February 6th, "Employers' Liabilities;" February 13th, "Strikes and Lockouts." On February 27th Dr. John J. Dunn, Instructor in the Romance Languages, delivered a lecture on "The Oldest Monuments of the Romance Languages." Dr. John D. Maguire, Assistant Professor of Latin, delivered, March 6th, a lecture on "Virgil and Christ." March 20th and March 27th, Dr. James Field Spalding spoke on Tennyson and Browning.

Rev. Dr. Pace lectured January 11th before the Philosophical Club, of Bryn Mawr College, on "The Spirit of Scholastic Philosophy."

The Association of American Universities held its second annual meeting at Chicago, February 26-28. The University was represented by the Right Rev. Rector, the Rev. Dr. Edward A. Pace, and Dr. Daniel W. Shea.

The Library of Father Walworth.—The late Rev. Clarence A. Walworth bequeathed his library to the University. A carefully prepared catalogue was accordingly sent us by his heirs and the books selected, representing the best part of the library, were promptly forwarded. The University library has thus received more than seven hundred volumes, dealing with theology, philosophy, science, literature, history, biography, and genealogy. This generous gift, besides completing previous collections, has added to the library a number of important duplicates, several early editions of note, and many other valuable and finely bound volumes.

Father Walworth, so well known and highly esteemed as a missionary worker and as a priest of the diocese of Albany, came from one of the most distinguished families of America. He was a man of refined tastes and of an exhaustive and varied culture. He also kept steadily in touch with the religious and scientific movements of the day, while the several notable works which have issued from his own pen are a proof of his personal activity in the field of literature. His name will be inscribed in grateful remembrance among the generous benefactors of the University library.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—**ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit.*, c. 6.**

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THE FALLACY IN EVOLUTION.

The drift of scientific endeavor for the past half-century—ever since Charles Darwin and Alfred Wallace announced, practically together,¹ the theory of Natural Selection—has been steadily toward a study of origins. Once the organic kingdom of nature with its “complexly adjusted and permanent equilibrium” was set forth as the type, par excellence, of all evolution, the rapid extension of the theory to physical astronomy and geology, to history, society, and religion, followed as a matter of course. A fixed determination to trace all resemblances between ideas, languages, institutions, individuals, and things to a common primitive source, and to exhibit reality of whatever sort as the outcome of an orderly and mechanically unfolding principle, thus passed into the common heritage of purpose and equipment to which the modern scholar fell heir. The barriers that hedged off the organic realm from the inorganic, the rational from the animal, the spiritual from the purely physical, were levelled at a stroke. The world no longer appeared as a rising scale of splendid isolations, but rather as a toilsome upward ascent of some early elemental agency toward the master-product of the whole self-running system,—Man, who thus at once became its epitome and goal, with the dust of dead worlds and races redistributed in his bodily frame, and with the wisdom of his vanished forebears revived in his intelligence.

Everything came to be viewed exclusively in the light of its history. Something that once was became the *raison*

¹On the same day, July 1, 1858.

d'être of all that now is, or ever will be. The truth, whether of religion or of society, began to be determined by studying its respective development either in the individual or the race, apart from any intrinsic content or objective rational value. A Genesis quite other than the Mosaic was thus made the supreme tessera of human thought, and comparison became the accepted method of science.

Comparative Philology,¹ Comparative Psychology, Comparative History, Comparative Religion grew apace and waxed strong with the strength of youthful sciences. The universe was made potential in one or more given primordial elements endowed with unlimited capacity for development and so simple as seemingly to require no originating cause. To reach this needed prime potential, the complex and diverse realities of the biological, social, and religious organisms were analyzed and compared; the similarities, resemblances, points of contact and agreement between all three were judiciously selected and catalogued; while their real differences were judiciously ignored, or reduced to minor significance, owing to the eagerness of the quest for the common element shared by all alike. The similarity disclosed by reflection as pervading these several orders of physical, moral, and intellectual facts was forthwith regarded as a basic something and as indicating the objective and real source whence all originally had sprung, only to be in course of time variously integrated and differentiated in accord with the well known laws of progressive change. Thus from resemblance to identity, from similarity to dependence was but a single step soon taken. The leaps that nature is proverbially supposed not to make, were easily made by going back far enough to get the proper start. *Il faut reculer pour mieux sauter.*

It is this evolutionary heritage of viewpoints, methods, and principles which this article proposes to examine and criticize. It must be clear at a glance to one who thinks beneath the surface of things that the comparative methods of applied and implied evolution, as instanced above, and as now

¹The comparative method in Philology was introduced by Franz Bopp's epoch-making "*Vergleichende Grammatik*," 1835-52, and hence is not initially due to Evolution.

generally employed by men of science, reopen the whole question of the nature and value of universal ideas. Until this fundamental problem of the relations of our ideas to reality be critically solved all scientific explanations which attempt to overlook it must forever remain a huge begging of the question and be punctuated by an unbroken succession of question marks. Science can no more afford to do without philosophy than philosophy can hope to dispense with the aid of science.

Passing over the interesting history of the problem itself, together with the mediæval controversies that wore it threadbare as matter for debate, we confine ourselves to the fundamental question which the Evolutionist has again made actual and which perforce he must needs answer before he can make good a single one of the principles of applied evolution, namely,—What is there in the real world corresponding to the universal ideas we are accustomed to frame of it?

We cannot in this age of criticism adopt the answer of the Ultra-Realist that the universal is a substance having an independent existence in nature. For such a universal, humanity for instance, would be only another individual, and at best but a personified abstraction delusively regarded as real. We cannot accept the solution of the Ultra-Nominalist that the universal is merely a name; nothing more, nothing less. For then all science would sink to the level of an arbitrary system of naming, without objective ground or warrant. Nor may we be content with Ultra-Conceptualism and avow benignly that universal ideas are names plus the signification which the mind attaches to them. For it is manifestly plain that we cannot make a thing of this or that class, or kind, or species, merely by thinking of it as such. And so, with no final rest for the mind in any of these extravagant solutions, we are compelled to seek a deeper and more critical analysis.

It must be clear to all that the individual is the only completely real thing and that the universal is not an individual. Were the nature of our mind such as to grasp, distinctly and at once, the entire concrete assemblage of qualities, properties, and attributes inherent in each individual thing; and were the manifold relations of every individual object of knowledge to a host of others a matter of direct, immediate perception,

instead of being, as they are, the results of complex mental processes, the difficulty of keeping abstract objects abstract, and concrete objects concrete, would be reduced almost to the point of vanishing. But the mind has the constitutional habit of isolating objective qualities, properties, attributes, and relations in order to apprehend them successively and distinctly: whence the ever-imminent danger of hypostasizing its own abstractions. The mind, unable to exhaust the full content of any object by a single act of knowledge, is forced to analyze it piecemeal. In putting together again the analytic products which it first isolated, an adequate or all-inclusive view of the object is obtained. This roundabout process, traditionally styled abstraction, clearly results in incomplete and partial views of objective reality. In comparing these incomplete and partial views of reality the mind detects common points of resemblance between a number of individuals, and from these common points of resemblance the concept which we call the universal is psychologically formed. The mind re-thinks the object by neglecting all individual differences and by centering attention on individual similarities only, and thus objects that are really many become one for thought.¹

The whole question of the reality of our universal ideas reduces itself, therefore, to a question of the reality of these resemblances between individual things. The sop may be thrown to the Conceptualist that it is the mind, in a sense, which gives unity to the members of a class and gathers them into one. But we cannot stop here finally. We must go behind the activity of the mind in unifying to the ground or reason for unification. We do not confer the unity arbitrarily and at pleasure: we do not make all men or all foxes alike: we do not create the uniformities of the Cosmos: we only discover, and state, and mentally reconstruct them. They are as much beyond our making or unmaking as the creation or annihilation of anything is beyond our power. We would not unify things mentally if things did not resemble one another really and belong together in fact as well as in thought.

¹ Professor Fullerton, of the University of Pennsylvania, has written a searching criticism upon this topic, entitled, "Sameness and Identity."

And so, the respects in which individuals resemble are as much independent of us and of our thinking as the individuals themselves. They cannot be set down as mere clusters of associated ideas. And so, too, while there is no single object in nature corresponding to a universal idea, such as matter, or force, or man, but rather a number of individual objects really resembling under the incomplete views we are forced to take of them, the universal is real with the reality of resembling things, although not a real individual. The objectivity of science is thus assured and guaranteed beyond the reach of skeptic cavil. But, be it ever borne in mind, the universals, as such, are not things, nor basal facts, nor sources of reality at all, but simply thoughts with a real foundation in, dependence on, and objective reference to, things themselves.

All this is clear enough to the philosopher in his closet, but it seems utterly lost on the enthusiastic hypothesis-makers of our day and time. Perhaps the most prevalent fallacy in modern scientific literature, directly traceable to the idea of evolution, is the fallacy of the universal, or the mistaking of universal ideas for real things, out of which the whole reality of life may be evolved. Men treat the incomplete forms of abstract thought as though they were so many real and complete individualities concretely existing in "hard and fast lumpishness" apart from mind, and reason on them betimes with all the naïveté of an Ultra-Realist.¹ In his desire to extend the evolutionary process over the whole domain of nature the Evolutionist has put himself under the constraint of finding, or of feigning to find, the origins and beginnings of things. He has crudely seized upon the simplifications which things undergo in the mind's abstractive processes as betokening a set of corresponding simplifications in reality itself and

¹ Thus Pantheism, Monism, Christian Science, and Agnosticism mistake the emptiness of logical being for the fulness of real, absolute being. The absolute is the unconditioned, the unrelated. Therefore it is unknowable. All this has been thought to be of profound significance. But its critical worth is nil. It is only a juxtaposition of our abstract notion of modeless being with our concrete notion of real being plus modes and conditions. To condition the unconditioned simply means to concretize the abstract. To relate the unrelated simply means to restore in concrete or complete thinking the modes or conditions you have removed when thinking of "being" incompletely or abstractly. It confounds intra-mental with extra-mental being. What relevancy this contrasting of two mental processes with each other has to the problem of God's existence and nature is left to the "surviving fittest" for adjudication. It is a pompous "ignoratio elenchí."

has thus come to imagine that he is actually dealing with the earliest simple forms of existing things and actually discovering original sources. Operating from the outset with universal ideas he naively supposes all along that he has beneath his very fingers the great and real germ whence all the particulars have duly sprung. Because the universal idea with which he starts *applies* to all the particulars logically, he proceeds without any philosophical scruple to make it *imply* them all physically, causally, and really. All the while he is laboring under the delusion that the abstract thought of his mind is readily convertible into a sort of half-thing that can exist independently of his reason and be made to pass bodily along a line of real and ever-varying development. A little concrete thinking would save him from this illogical pitfall and shock him with a saving sense of the unreality of his position.

Mental classifications, unifications, and simplifications put nothing in things, but only order in the thoughts of our mind. Abstract thinking, under the familiar guise of classifying facts, religions, activities, or any number of things whatsoever, so far from revealing a common identical source of any or of all these, really brings about no identity and really does away with no difference in the facts, religions or agencies classified.¹ When we think the actual world fully and adequately, and not under the delusive incompleteness of abstract thought, the divergences, differences, and complexities of the real situation,—which have disappeared in our idealization of it, simply because we neglected to take them into consideration,—again reappear in all their previous natural and complex setting, and defy reduction. Accordingly, the serious doubt which prevailing evolutionary methods continually conjure up and as continually overlook, is, whether applied evolution is dealing with reality at all, or only shuffling up and down the abacus of the mind a number of abstractions which are unwarrantably

¹ In comparing man with the animal the Evolutionist fastens upon "feeling" as common to both. In this wise the irreducible contents of rational on the one hand and animal on the other become conveniently identified. Thought is first reduced to feeling and then deduced from feeling as the higher from the lower. Conceptual identity and conceptual possibility are here exchanged for real identity and actual possibility. After such a gross confusion is once made everything becomes clear by hypothesis, but remains just as opaque as ever in point of fact.

projected out of the mind, spelt with a capital letter and made to play the arduous part of extra-mental reality.

In the light of the critical principles which have been here laid down the evolutionary explanations of phenomena are seen to be purely verbal in character and of little, if any, *real* value. Their apparent success, profundity, and satisfactoriness are mainly due to the fact that the simplicity of the world of thought is crudely carried over into the world of things and seemingly made to rid the latter of its inherent and essential complexity. To the uncritical thinker or reader who is unable to see that the logical processes of his mind are quite different from the real processes of things in nature, and by no means strictly parallel, the evolutionary explanations must needs seem forever final and decisive. The judicious, however, must be left alone to grieve over fictitious explanations that do not even touch the real problem at issue, much less solve it.

Enough has been said of the nature and value of universal ideas and of the danger, so easily courted, of making bodiless abstractions the causal ground of all existence. A few leading instances, chosen from an embarrassing wealth of illustration, will serve to enforce and apply this criticism, which is concerned only with the attempts to extend the theory of evolution over the whole domain of thought and things as a universal law of becoming and derivation.¹ These repeatedly attempted *extensions* are accomplished by such elastic canons of logic, by such ingenious substitutions of theory for fact where facts happen to be wanting, and altogether by such convenient methods of comparison as to merit and repay our careful attention.

To arrive at the causal ground of the universe or a science of cosmology the Evolutionist begins with his "taxonomic scale of force and matter," which, apart from its misleading title, is a plain recital of facts without hypothetic coloring. The respective planes of the elements, chemical compounds, vegetal life, animal life, and finally rational life, form this rising scale of beings which mutually overlap, the higher con-

¹ The legitimacy or illegitimacy of evolution as an induction from the facts of biology forms no part of this discussion and is irrelevant.

taining, epitomizing, and redistributing the lower in varying clusters of distinct and substantial unities. Manifold differences on the level of each plane are admitted and the distinct break between each successive plane not denied. We are brought into the presence of physical, physiological, and psychical "forces" differing in kind as well as in degree. We are made aware that physical and chemical energies are mutually convertible in terms of motion, and that one energy may be displaced by another quantitatively equivalent, but qualitatively different. All this is within the sphere of observation and experiment which no one may question.¹

Not so with what follows in its wake. The comparative method is now brought into play and hypothesis and analogy slip into this sphere of admitted fact, without credentials, unnoticed. The *embryonic* scale of living and productive germ-cells is rehearsed to prejudge the whole issue by the question-begging analogy,—that all reality originated in the cellular progressive fashion of the human individual. To make good this analogy the varied organic and inorganic beings of nature's scale, together with the respective physical, physiological, and psychical energies that manifest them, are stripped of all differences and thus verbally identified under the common head of "matter and force." This conceptual and verbal identification is straightway mistaken for real, and this is the original sin of the whole vitiated after-process. For, is force that is force in general and matter that is matter in general any kind of real force or matter in particular from which I can legitimately deduce anything but still further barren abstractions, proceeding one and all in direct logical descent from this parent-pair of abstractions? The intrusion of biological analogy is only so much dust in the eyes of the observer. The origin of fuller life from rudimentary life is not the same as the origin of life from inorganic elements.

But the Evolutionist, undeterred, rubs his Aladdin's lamp and the genie appears. He projects the abstractions "matter and force" into the real order, calls them the Homogeneous, and thus a sterile abstract thought becomes the nursing

¹ "Evolution," part 3, chap. 4. LeConte.

mother-thing of all reality.¹ This homogeneous is so simple as to appear self-explanatory. It is self-posed, or, as the Germans say, *unmittlebar gegeben*. All need of a producer is thereby dismissed, and the idea of special creation sinks at once to the level of a folklore tale. Given a maximum abstract potential, which is crudely regarded as a real potential containing initially of itself the power to develop into anything and everything, one would be greatly surprised if it did not easily fulfil its universal contract, provided only that time enough were allowed. And time enough is easily obtained by a regardless confusion of *conceptual* with *actual* possibility, which is the vague thought-element that the Evolutionist proceeds to make real without fear of kirk or benefit of clergy. He forthwith pushes his abstract homogeneous back far enough into the *virtual* past of his own thought—which he calls infinite past time—to get all the effects desired from it. As he glances backward in thought he overlooks all differences in things to reach his homogeneous, and as he looks forward in thought he restores all the complexities previously overlooked and thus reaches his desired “integrating and differentiating” heterogeneous.²

It is all very interesting, but what is its value as a *real* explanation of phenomena? None. Beyond a rearrangement of his own thoughts the Evolutionist has accomplished nothing that would lift the veil from life’s real mystery. Things remain as they were before, unreduced, irreducible. He simply plays off the shadows of his own mental processes against the fixed world of irreducible things, thinking all the while that, in

¹ “All explanation of the higher by the lower, such as the naturalistic theories attempt, is philosophically a *hysteron proteron*,—a precise inversion of the true account. The antecedents assigned are not the causes of the consequents; for by antecedents the naturalistic theories mean the antecedents (matter and energy for example) *in abstraction from their consequents*, the antecedents taken as they appear in themselves, or as we might suppose them to be if no such consequents had ever issued from them. So conceived, however, the antecedents have no real existence—they are mere *entia rationis*—abstract aspects of the one concrete event which we call the universe” (Italics not ours).—Two lectures on Theism, p. 42. Prof. Andrew Seth.

² Carlyle, iconoclast as he was, did not hesitate to characterize this soulless view of nature as “an old marine-store shop collection of things putrifying and rotting under certain forces and laws.” To him “it was flatly and for ever inconceivable that intellect and moral emotion (sic) could have been put into man by an entity which had none of its own.”—Cf. *The Theology of Modern Literature*. P. 168-4. S. Law Wilson.

rearranging his thoughts in order, he is therewith reconstructing the actual sequence of the world's unfolding. He empties his thought of the complexities of concrete thinking and fills it in again with them. But to run down the scale of real beings to the simplicity of a universal idea and to run up the same scale again to the diversity of particular facts in the actual world, and then to proclaim all things accounted for, would be amusing if it were not so serious. To mistake the vague notion of indefinite being, which is a logical potential, for the notion of the infinite, which is no potential at all, but all possible perfection actually realized; to make the indefinite,—*product* of analytic abstraction as it is,—the prime *producer* of all reality; and then to derive the actualities of to-day out of an indefinite potentialized for just such a purpose, is little short of mental jugglery, and shows what pranks of deceit the universal is still capable of playing even upon the minds of the professedly elect. Until universals are shown to be real things and thought-processes to have their exact double in reality, the homogeneous of the Spencerian philosophy will remain the most accommodating sort of entity yet discovered and its lack of thinghood be regretted.

The entire fact of the matter is that the higher beings of the so-called taxonomic scale contain the lower. The theory of the matter is that the lower precontain the higher and develop into them by an unbroken causal continuity. But this genealogical connection, descent, unity, identity, and mutual convertibility of all phenomena is not a scientific fact in any sense however remote, but only a very suggestive hypothesis open to unanswerable objections. Granting the *real existence* of such an original element endowed with an equally real capacity to unfold itself gradually into the present actualities of the world, whence came it? You cannot make it Hegel's God on the way to consciousness, because only an actual infinite could be the reason and ground of its existence and germinal powers; and the infinite must be the cause of change while remaining itself unchanging. Creation is merely pushed back further and not done away with.¹ An actual

¹ For a brief but excellent discussion of this point, see article "What is Special Creation?" by Prof. Borden P. Bowne, in *New York Independent*, Nov. 8, 1900.

capacity to develop into everything, as well as the actual something which so develops, constantly presupposes and demands an actual Producer and continuous Upholder and Guide.¹ The world cannot be upbuilt on a system of molecular mechanics without annihilating Reason. In fine, the gist of the matter simply turns out to be that the Producer, instead of producing all things alike on a dead, mechanical, and monotonous level, produced them in variety; whether mediately or immediately he so produced them, remaining still an open scientific question. All this, however, is lamentably lost sight of in the desire to set the self-running and self-administering system in motion and to start this miniature ball of efficient reality rolling on its everlasting course down the corridors of time.

This is but one example of many in modern cosmology illustrative of the applied evolutionary method. There is still another example which calls for detailed treatment. It is the comparative method as employed in the study of religions.

The reconstruction of the origin and progress of religion is another illustration of this almost universal fallacy of the universal. The different forms of religion that have appeared in the course of history—animism, ghostism, fetishism, polytheism, totemism, monotheism, deism, pantheism, Christianity,—are all pooled together, compared, sifted, and analyzed.² The differences marking off one form from another are then suppressed in thought and “fear of the Unknowable” selected as the common basic element supposedly disclosed by analysis as pervading all. In this wise religious forms that are many in point of fact become identified and unified in the mind, and this subjective identity is forthwith made to do duty as the first historical form under which religion appeared. Next

¹ “Dicendum quod corpus coeleste, cum sit movens motum, habet rationem instrumenti quod agit in virtute principalis agentis. Et ideo, ex virtute sui motoris qui est substantia vivens, potest causare vitam.” This interesting text of St. Thomas (Summa Theol., P. I., Q. 70, art. 8, ad. 8) concerning “spontaneous generation” lets us into his mind on the matter. He says clearly that if we regard generation as an *instrumental* action, “non repugnat primæ rerum institutioni quod ex corruptione ignobiliorum generantur nobiliora.” The *actual* cause would, of course, have to be God; the *potential* instrument, *might be* creatures. (Ibid., Q. 72, art. univ. ad. 5.)

² For a more exhaustive portrayal of the weakness of the evolutionary comparative method, see “Theory of Thought and Knowledge, Chapters on ‘Explanation and Fallacies,’ by Borden P. Bowne. New York, Harper’s, 1897.

the preaccepted hypothesis that the higher must come from the lower is called into requisition and the divergent religious conceptions are shuffled and rearranged to meet its requirements. This scientific classification is supposed to say the last word on the matter, and some early form of religion, such as fetishism, is exhibited as successively assuming the guise of all later forms and as permanently abiding to-day in Christianity itself.

Facts are ignored or read in the light of hypothesis solely. If evolution be true universally man must have passed from the non-religious stage to the religious. The historical proof of man's having been primitively non-religious never for a moment enters. And so the fictitious problem comes up for solution,—How did man effect the transit? Here psychology takes the place of history or at least reduces history to the position of a lackey to psychology. Man began, we are told, by fearing the elements, whose purely physical nature he could not know, since science was as yet unborn. Next he personified these same elements, and the theory of hallucinations, dreams, swoons, and visions is adduced to flank and support the transition to personification. These dreams and visions aroused within early man the idea of ancestral ghosts, disembodied spirits still capable of intervening, for purposes of good or ill, in human affairs. Whence Polytheism. When the tribes amalgamated into social unities, the totem, or strongest tribal God, gained supremacy of worship over all the weaker ones. Whence Henotheism, from which to Monotheism was an easy step.¹ Finally, to-day, when science has emancipated man once for all from the bugaboos of his forebears, he realizes in his advanced reason that the idea of a personal God and of the miraculous supernatural is only the shadow of man's original ignorance, forever dispelled by science, the new and only cult worthy of humanity.

What is the value of this plausible explanation? Purely subjective and verbal. Until the Evolutionist proves that psychological genesis is the only interpretation religious facts

¹ History discloses no such rigid order of succession and progression. Monotheism must come first simply because it is a higher form. How one form developed into another is explained by calling in the aid of additional hypotheses.

will bear, and the only way religion could have originated, he is arguing in the air. Until he proves by history that this emotional fear was the real sum and substance of early religion and the historical prime source of it, he has his labor for his pains. Rearrangement of religions on a mental scale cannot be arbitrarily taken for an exact transcript of the historical order in which facts occurred.¹ The transfer of elemental fear from the thought-order of analysis to the objective order of fact, and the exhibition of all forms of religion as so many vitiated outcomes of this initial conception and emotion, explain nothing, account for nothing. The conceptual identification of religions does not imply their real identification. Psychological genesis is worthless in this matter apart from history and history is silent as to missing links.² Of course, there are examples of historical connection and relationship between religions, but none of that sweeping character which the Evolutionist claims. The conversion of mental and moral forces, to adopt the evolutionary parlance, into each other, like the conversion of physical force into psychic, is a bigger mystery than the history of religions or the facts of science call upon us to believe. The universal is here playing its wonted rôle once more and evidently is no respecter of persons.

The facts in the case show a decided disinclination to fall in with the requirements of the hypothesis. There is no proof from historical documents that man was primitively non-religious or that he was originally on the plane of fetishism. The hypothesis of man's fall from an original high estate of Monotheism is as equally tenable in the light of known facts as the hypothesis of man's ascent from some lower stage to a higher. Regression and dissolution mark off man's history as well as progression and evolution. Love of a benignant being was as much a characteristic of the early known religions as fear of a malignant one. Nay, more: the theory of ignorant fear fails to account for the very fact it is adduced to explain,

¹ The practical proof of this statement is that hardly any two writers agree on the same table of reconstructed religions.

² When it is borne in mind that it actually takes ten gratuitous suppositions,—eight concerned with bridge-making between the different forms of religion and two concerned with preaccepted methods,—to fill in the silence of history, one feels a growing sympathy for "Occam's Razor," namely: *Non sunt multiplicanda entia sine necessitate*.

namely, the existence of religion.¹ For fear implies rudimentary knowledge, at least, of the object to be feared, and so must be regarded as an effect of already existing religion and not as its cause.

The radical fault with this comparative study of religions is that it attempts to explain religion as the mere outcome of a motive of curiosity, on man's part, to decipher the meaning of physical nature and its laws. It begins by a false, because incomplete, analysis of man's nature into that of a mere thinking-machine possessed of only one faculty, the faculty simply to know, and be curious about, Nature. It submerges the basic facts of man's essentially moral and religious constitution and then turns about to make man's moral and religious self emerge again as in some way developed from intelligence. Having thus by incomplete and inaccurate analysis emptied man of his moral and religious instincts, it creates for itself the speculative problem of their restoration. Religion must thus perforce have been developed from without, since, hypothetically, it could not have been within man at the beginning. The continuity of religion cannot, therefore, hypothetically again, be the continuity of man's essentially religious nature at all, but the continuity of some early crude form of worship which abides still under a multitude of differences that are described in polysyllabic terms of verbal wisdom, apparently the final revelation of the Welt-Geist itself.

But the plain fact of the whole matter, hypothesis apart, is that men, in the course of history, have given varied expression to their religious views. This is the sum total of objective fact. These varying views, and the forms and rites in which they are embodied, are no more one and identical in themselves than the atomic theory of modern chemistry is one with the theory of Democritus or the methods of modern chemistry a vitiated product of mediæval alchemy. The intense desire to discover sources and origins at whatever cost has led men to ride rough-shod over all barriers in a veritable steeplechase. The comparative method, which can and does produce worthy results when tempered to the facts, has been forced to a uni-

¹ Introduction to the History of Religion. F. B. Jevons. Last chapter, on the "Evolution of Belief."

versal service for which it is incapable, and under the burden of which it breaks down. The comparative method, essentially relative as its name denotes, soon becomes transformed into an absolute standard more dogmatic far than the dogmatism it aims to overthrow.

The remedy lies in thinking more sympathetically with the facts. We should not rummage the history of religions merely to pick out a few salient instances here, and to cast aside a few counter instances there, and then piece together a mosaic purely of our own making. Why not square thought with fact at the outset and conceive the germs of moral and religious development originally within man as well as the germ of intellective life? Granted that the widest spread forms of religious belief are the lowest; granted that there was an early tendency to personify external objects, what warrant have we to conclude from these facts the derivation of all higher forms from these lower? Should we not rather conclude that an original religious consciousness in man had simply *mistaken* the objects of its worship and *misdirected* its efforts? that man being by nature religious, began by a religious explanation of nature, and failed through ignorance, or sin, or both; to discriminate accurately and fully the contents of his religious from his scientific consciousness? Does not the hypothesis of the Fall of man dovetail into the facts as well, to say the least, as the supposition of his Ascent from degradation? Love and worship of a benign supernatural will are facts of early religion as well as fear and propitiation of the powers of evil.¹ The universality of religion and worship among mankind is too strong a fact to be accounted for on the persistence of some one form of worship. It is the persistence of the religious instinct under a multiplicity of forms that is here met with, it is religion giving vital expression to itself constantly, and yet varyingly, that we here see, and not some one kind of religious practice going through a kaleidoscopic set of transformations and changes.

We cannot therefore explain the universal existence of religion, nor the universal satisfaction of the race in religious

¹Ibid., p. 418

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worship, unless we admit religion as an actual content of man's consciousness from the beginning. Speculation as to how man might have become religious in no wise alters the historical fact of his religiousness. It merely seeks to go behind the actual fact, and thus apparently to explain it away by an ingenious series of conjectural, because hypothetic, figments. Were religion an organism like a plant or an animal, it would, of course, have to obey the same laws of growth and evolution. But, although there are resemblances between religion as an organization on the one hand and an animal organism on the other sufficient to create an analogy between the two cases, the differences are so great as to make it inevitable that at some point or other the analogy should break down. At what point the analogy breaks down cannot be determined by a study of the laws of animal life, but by a study of the facts and history of religion itself. How comes it that men so prone to vent their spleen on the analogical method of the Schoolmen exemplify in their own person an extravagance in the use of this self-same method, of which their keener mediæval forebears, with the exception of the two Raymunds, never even dreamed? Is similarity identity? Is partial resemblance to be taken for complete? Must we discover the true nature of religion by studying the unfolding of animal organisms? Verily, too much comparison has made us mad.¹

Once we come to make our thought of man's threefold nature, moral, religious, and scientific as it is, adequate to the fact, and not exclusive of two-thirds of it, the history of religions simply reduces to this plain unvarnished tale that man, being religious by very nature, at different times, in divers ways, and in ever-changing environment, gave a variety of forms and expressions to his religious conceptions and feelings. The problem of the comparative history of religion will then be, not to strain after some vague, general, external source of religion, back to which all similarities may dependently be traced, but to avow openly the universal fact of religion as the

¹ "Organism was investigated to the exclusion of environment; external conditions were minimized in an anxiety to prove that a preconceived metaphysical principle can be applied to remove every crux."—*Contemporary Theology and Theism*. R. M. Wenley, p. 77.

starting point,¹ and to regard the continuity of religion, not as a genealogical descent from some fictitious early form of external worship, but as the common instinct of a common humanity working out, independently or dependently, as the historical case may be, at sundry times and in sundry places, a series of more or less similar effects, all expressive of the great heart of the race in its yearnings for union with the Personal Source and Goal of all reality. To cheat one's self with the Comtean simile of the child's personification of the doll as expressive of early man's attitude toward inanimate nature; to take the savages of to-day as typical of early man's religion,² is to strain at gnats of analogy and swallow camels of hypothesis in the end; to beg the entire question from the very start. The study of Religions would never have led to so great a wealth of delusion but for that insidious, subjective necessity, inherent in the very concept of evolution, and constraining us to think that connections in thought are connections in things, and that the hard realities of nature and of history stand ever submissively ready to rearrange themselves in due accord with our scientific reconstructions.

To summarize the practical results of this discussion, we might be content simply to say that much which passes to-day for science is not a clearly defined field of fact and observation at all, but an admixture of fact, hypothesis, theories, and interpretations in promiscuous confusion. Modern criticism has its work to do over again in sifting the chaff from the wheat of knowledge. Truth must again follow in the wake of

¹ There are two methods of procedure here as elsewhere. One is to doubt everything and to proceed from doubt to reconstruction; the other is to doubt nothing except for sufficient reason. The "methodical" doubt of Descartes, while having its uses, has its abuses likewise, and from a doubt of method soon becomes transformed into a doubt of fact.

² "Many a quaint and curious custom found among some savage people of to-day shoots a ray of light upon prehistoric conditions, thus connecting the line that runs horizontally through the present races of mankind with the line that may be drawn perpendicularly through the ages of time. It is likewise seen that while absolute identity of beliefs and practices is nowhere to be discovered, absolute disparity of origin and nature is also precluded by the facts." *The Comp. Meth. in Theol.*, by Rev. Prof. Nath. Schmidt, in *N. Y. Indep.*, Jan. 24, 1901.—Why place the continuity of religion in religious customs and practices? Are these not rather effects of continuous religious belief? Is natural religion the ground of these customs or merely an outgrowth of them? Can similar results never come about independently? Why look for absolute identity at all?

the gleaners, this time not with the faint hope of being rewarded with a stray sheaf, but rather with the conscious purpose of unbinding the ill-assorted sheaves and of winnowing fact from speculation.

This article is not intended as a sweeping protest against the comparative method in itself, but as a plea for saner judgment in its employment and a more critical appreciation of the philosophy of Realism. Where the comparative method has remained close to history or to observation, as in Philology and Biology, it has been quickened by contact with real sources and has produced fruitful results. But where it has been stretched by elastic analogy to the ferreting out of imaginary and hypothetic sources in radically different fields of phenomena, as in the case of Cosmology and the History of Religions, not to mention countless other instances, it has furnished its own refutation by reaping a crop of barren and fruitless abstractions. The evolution of the world, of society, or of religion cannot be treated as if it were a *logical* process of development. Logic cannot displace metaphysics, neither can it rewrite universal history.

There is something absolute in life. All is not Heraclitic or Hegelian flux. Comparison is not an all-comprehensive viewpoint. There is no more warrant for the universally assumed principle that similarity always implies the identity or dependence in origin of all similars than there is for the opposite principle of utter distinction and independence. Both are alike extremes. The latter fails to take into account the more or less discernible continuity of the race. The former is an extravagant, unjustifiable interpretation of that continuity, and, in point of fact, is only a *conclusion* from the assumed universality of evolution, which the Evolutionist in his enthusiasm soon turns about to convert into a categorical and dogmatic *principle* of an all-embracing nature. The stream cannot rise higher than its source. An inference purely hypothetic cannot be made an all-certain principle by this "patent-reversible" process. The true criterion lies between in an objective study of resembling facts and in a hard calculation of the probabilities for and against the thesis of actual contact and real relationship of similars.

It need hardly be added, by way of conclusion, that this criticism does not at all imply that similarity never points to original identity, nor resemblance to dependence, whether in institutions, ideas, or things, but that such dependence is matter for special determination, either through history or observation. The question of dependence in origin cannot be decided offhand by the intrusion of an hypothesis which settles everything by *logical implication* and does not touch the objective case *sub lite* at all. Nor does this criticism deny all reality to universal ideas. While the universal ideas of the human mind are valid for reality, because they are reality apprehended incompletely, care must all the more be exercised in their manipulation lest we convert these thoughts of ours into full-fledged things. That such care is not taken in their employment nowadays by men professedly scientific only goes to show how far, in the general divorcing of mutual interests characteristic of our times, Science has drifted apart from Philosophy.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

CHRIST AND VERGIL.

The purpose of the following pages is not to try to institute any detailed inquiry as to the manner in which the pre-Christian civilization prepared the way for the advent of Christ. That Divine Providence moulded and shaped the one and fitted it to the other cannot seriously be called into question. We cannot think even on a priori grounds that an event of such moment, fraught with such far-reaching and such lasting influences for all mankind alike, came upon the world clearly foretold to the Jews and utterly unheralded to the Gentiles. The story of the Magi, the strange expectancy and unrest of the Romans noticed and recorded by Rome's two most careful historians, Suetonius and Tacitus, and finally the *religious*¹ purpose clearly discernible in the *Aeneid* of Vergil, all point to the same conclusion ; namely, that when the rising of the great Sun of Justice was imminent, when the glorious dawn was at hand, then some few errant rays penetrated even the darkness of the Pagan world ; that other eyes beside the divinely inspired ones saw the light breaking, saw the long night passing. Neither shall we attempt to collate all the premonitions concerning the coming of Christ, which find expression in *all* the Vergilian poems ; for that, too, would far exceed the limited space allotted ; but we shall confine our consideration to one remarkable production of Vergil ; namely, the Fourth Eclogue. Our investigation will aim at discerning therein, not, indeed, a revealed prophecy guaranteed with the certainty which Divine Inspiration alone can give, but we shall find in that poem some adumbrations foretelling Christ, some foreshadowings sufficiently clear and detailed to justify us in attaching the note of a high probability to the following

¹ The question as to what extent the Vergilian poems foreshadowed those ideas which found clear utterance in the Sacred Scripture, and the related question as to the religious tendency evident in the *Aeneid*, are fully discussed by Gaston Boissier in his work "*La Religion Romaine*," Vol. I, pp. 221, ff. See also J. C. Sharp, "*Vergil as a Precursor of Christianity*," Princeton Rev. N. S., Vol. 4.

thesis, namely, that there is a real point of contact between this Vergilian eclogue and the Sacred Scriptures, and consequently Holy Writ must be numbered among the sources which Vergil used in his composition of this remarkable poem.

This eclogue even apart from its remarkable contents is a most unique production, and that for two reasons. First of all, it is not only one of the unsolved problems among Vergilian critics; but it seems destined never to find satisfactory solution. Its sources, its interpretation, its inspiration, are still in large measure mere conjectures. All that is known with certainty concerning the poem can be briefly told. It was written in the Year of the City 714, that is, about 40 B. C.;¹ during the consulship of Asinius Pollio, and was dedicated to the latter, who was one of Vergil's most intimate friends. The hero of the poem is some child either already born or soon to be born; but what particular child Vergil had in mind is not known. It has been suggested that Augustus himself is the hero; others saw and still see in it a reference to one of the two sons of Asinius Pollio; still others thought that Drusus or Marcellus was the fortunate child to whom Vergil had reference; finally there have been some who attributed the magnificent prophecies of this poem to the infamous Julia, the daughter of Octavian and Scribonia. Of course it would be endless to review all the reasons alleged by Vergilian students in their endeavor to fix this one point, namely, who was the hero of the poem; but the variety of opinion here indicated shows us that probably no other poem of equal length has been the subject of more careful study than this simple eclogue. And to-day, after so many hundreds of years it is still as obscure as it was in the days of Servius, the great Vergilian commentator, whose material goes back to a period almost contemporaneous with the poet himself; still as far from solution as it was when the great Constantine stood up before that Council

¹ As to the date of the Fourth Eclogue (see O. Ribbeck's *Prolegg.*, pp. 15 ff.) C. Schaper, *J. B.*, 1882, 2, 133, has advanced the erroneous opinion that Eclogues 4, 6, 10 are considerably later than the others which were published between the years 42 and 28 B. C., and that they were not written until between the years 27 and 25 B. C. It is needless to add that this opinion is supported by no other scholar; and that other Vergilian critics, as for example, E. Krause, A. Przygode, A. Feilchenfeld, and others, are in substantial agreement with Ribbeck.

of Eastern bishops and gave his imperial sanction to this interpretation; namely, that Christ was the hero of the poem.¹

Again, not only is this eclogue the least known though the most carefully studied of the poems of Vergil; it is singular also in the fact, that in spirit and in content it is quite unlike the other eclogues of Vergil and, indeed, quite unlike any other poetical production in either of the classic languages. The other eclogues, if not loose translations of Theocritus, are at most clever adaptations of Theocritean material to Roman events and to personages known to Vergil.² From first to last they lack originality and are absolutely dependent upon well known sources; they mark the merest beginnings of literary effort, and they have but one theme; the narrow joys and sorrows of rustic life. In a word they are pastoral songs set to the melodies of the shepherd's reed. But in this Fourth Eclogue we recognize at once a striking change. We feel at once no shepherd's song is here. An epic note is struck, a note unpastoral; a grand symphony of exultation rolls through these majestic lines. The poet himself is conscious of uttering a strain transcending any rustic chant, "Panlo maiora canamus" he says, after invoking and then suddenly forsaking the rustic muses. He feels that the theme which he now has in hand needs loftier inspiration than the "Sicelides Musae" the muses of Theocritus, the muses of the pastoral chants, can impart. And that Vergil is consistently true to this higher inspiration is evident also in the content of the poem, and in his treatment of the subject-matter; for this poem unlike any other specimen of bucolic poetry is marked by the most ideal delicacy of language and the most transparent purity of sentiment. And what is still more remarkable, earthly love, the one unending theme of the other Vergilian eclogues and the great staple of all pastoral poetry, finds in this eclogue not so

¹Cf. also St. Augustine's Epist. 258: "To whom other than the Savior could the poet address these words, 'Te duce, signa manent sceleris vestigia nostri Inrita perpetua solvent formidulæ terra,' " v. 13, 14.

²With regard to Vergil's imitation of Theocritus in the Eclogues, cf. E. Büttner, *D. Vesh. Vergil's Ecl. Theokr. Insterb.* 1873. See also C. Peter, *Gesch. Roms.* 8-105, and G. A. Gebauer, *De poet. græc. bucol., imprimis Theocriti carm.* in *eclogis a Verg. expressis.* Vol. I. Vergil's procedure in imitating Theocritus, is to take two of the latter's eclogues and weld them together into one poem; a process known as "contaminatio" and used much by the comic poets, especially Plautus and Terence. Cf. Vergilian Eclogue 8, which is an amalgamation of Theoc. Ecl. 4 and 5, also Verg. Ecl. 8, after Theoc. Ecl. 1 and 2.

much as a passing reference, Thus, this poem, in spirit, in form, in content is not only unlike the rest of the Vergilian eclogues; it stands quite alone, and quite apart from any example of Greek or Latin bucolic poetry, that has come down to us. But—and here we come to the point at issue—just in those features in which this eclogue is thus sharply differentiated from the regular pastoral chants of Greece and Rome; it reveals a most remarkable resemblance, too striking and too detailed to be merely coincident, to the *prophetic chants* of the Hebrews. It is as similar to these as it is dissimilar to those; for besides the striking scriptural reminiscences which we have already mentioned, this poem enjoys the singular distinction that it alone, out of all the classic poetry, is exclusively *prophetic* in character. It is written almost entirely in the future tense. Its golden age is not a past event, it is yet to dawn, it is to be ushered in with the birth of the fortunate child who will partake of the life of the gods,² who will be (v. 49) “*cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum.*”

When the poets of Greece and Rome sang of the Golden Age it was always placed in the past. Their Golden Age was not coming; it was over and gone. It had rolled through its allotted cycle in remote antiquity, before the present age, the age of Jupiter, began. Indeed, it is the absence of any coming Golden Age that lends such utter hopelessness to their song. “*Omnia fati in peius ruere*” is their universal cry and creed.

Again, a comparison of the Greek word for poet, ποιήτης, and its Latin equivalent, poeta, with the Hebrew word for prophet (which also meant poet), will show that just as the poets of Greece and Rome were not prophets but had their eyes fixed upon the past; the poets of Judea *were* prophets and sang of the future.³ Language is nothing less than history, and words are history epitomized. The adequate biography of a word is simply a history of the times and circumstances and needs which made the word necessary. So, if the Hebrew poets were called prophets, it was because prophecy, the future,

¹V. 15, “*Ille deum vitam accipiet.*”

²V. 7, “*Iam nova progenies caelo dimittitur alto.*”

³Cf. A. B. Peabody, *North American Review*, Vol. 65. Vergil's Fourth Eclogue. Also G. Watson, Vergil. Fourth Eclogue. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. III.

was the burden of their song. While the poets of the Gentile world sang of the founders of their states and families, or noted the fabulous folk-lore of early time, the bards of Judea sang of the coming of the Prince of Peace, or told of the reign of love and holiness which He was to establish on a renovated earth.

It is an unvarying rule certified to throughout the entire history of literature, that the song of genius will be prospective rather than retrospective if the future be bright, if it hold out the hope of better things to come; but if the future be dark, if it loom forbidding and hopeless, then the poet will go back to seek his ideal in the golden past. So the Gentiles, early lapsing away from the purity of the primitive revelation, rapidly sank lower and lower in their moral standards, and consequently were always able to look back upon a past better and happier than the present. Hence, they lost hopefulness and saw in the future no ideal, but only deeper degradation. Those among them, therefore, who raised their eyes from the dreary present dared not look into the future; and so were forced to look back upon the Golden Age that had been; were forced to unbury the glorious past, to prolong and adorn the misty and meagre traditions of the happy days in Eden. But the future held no dread for the Jews, for they had been gifted with the blessings of a second revelation: and in that revelation they saw an unending era of universal peace and happiness and virtue. In a word, the Gentiles' Golden Age was past, their future hopeless; the Jewish Golden Age was yet to come, their future bright with promise.

Now, since poetry is the sublimation of ideals, is it not clear that in the Fourth Eclogue of Vergil a Jewish rather than a Gentile ideal is concreted? Is it not clear that this poem projecting the Golden Age into the future, breaks irrevocably with the classic tradition? From first to last the poem breathes the hope of a happier and more glorious era soon to be established, through the agency of a child whose birth was then at hand. And what is still more significant is the fact, that the hope which finds such confident, such exultant, utterance in the sonorous lines of this eclogue was precisely the self-same hope which at that time pervaded and sustained the

entire Jewish nation. Hence, it need not surprise us to know that the early Christians, and even the Christians of the Middle Ages, regarded Vergil as a prophet.¹

We come now to our final inquiry and that is, the origin of the marvelous prediction voiced in this poem. It is clear at first sight that the note of excellence attaching to this fortunate birth is no common flattery. We could find its parallel perhaps, had the poet promised the child about to be born wealth or power, station or conquest. But no material gift, no temporal advantage, is held out. The child will sway no earthly sceptre, but a *spiritual* and *moral* power will be his. A regenerating influence over men's hearts will mark his presence upon earth; his dominion will extend over the laws of nature, and under his reign the wild and savage beasts of the forest will become gentle as the peaceful kine of the fields. Nay, the prophecy voiced in this poem seems to condemn those forms of earthly greatness which men have ever held in highest esteem; for the forthcoming hero will owe none of his renown to arms or war; no career of carnage or conquest will be his; but his presence will destroy the last vestiges of force and ancient sin.

Now, at the time when this eclogue was written, had the

¹ See G. Boissier, *La Religion Romaine*. Vol. I, pp. 257 sqq. "Dans les détails même et le style de l'éclouge, les Chrétiens croyaient parfois retrouver les expressions symboliques de leur langue religieuse; ces images de troupeau et de pasteur qui leur étaient si familières, le souvenir de cette ancienne faute dont il faut effacer la trace, la mention de la mort du serpent, qui leur rappelait leurs livres sacrés, achevaient de les convaincre que c'était bien du Christ que le poète avait voulu parler." Cf. also Tillemont, *Hist. Eccles.*, III, 381, where it is related that three pagans, after reading the Fourth Eclogue, became Christians and gave themselves up to martyrdom during the persecution of Decius.

In the Council of Nice the Emperor Constantine did not hesitate to apply this eclogue to Christ and to find in it a proof of His Divinity.

During the Middle Ages the earlier opinion as to Vergil's prophetic office grew more widespread. It was the custom in some countries to have dramatic representations on the Feast of the Nativity of Christ. All the prophets who had announced the coming of Christ were assembled in the nave of the church, and one by one they were invited to step forward and repeat their prophecies before the people. After Moses, Isaiah, and David, and the lesser prophets, Vergil was summoned in these lines: "Vates, Maro, gentiliū: Da Christo testimonium (Du Cange, III, 325). Then Vergil "invenit in habitu, bene ornatus" stepped forward and spoke his prophecy, which was a slight variation of v. 7 of the Fourth Eclogue, viz.: "Ecce polo demissa solo nova progenies est."

For a full account of Vergil's influence during the Middle Ages, and for an account of the rise and growth of the wonderful "Vergil-legend," see D. Compagni, *Vergilio nel Medio Evo*, 1872. See also Teuffel's *Hist. of Roman Literat.* Vol. I (sec. 231), pp. 450 sqq., where all the literature touching this matter is collected; and especially A. Graf, *Roma nella Memoria*, etc., del Medio Evo, v. II, pp. 196-258.

Romans not had some vague notions of the confident hope current among the Jews ; had there not been some popular expectations ready at hand to be gathered up and to be wrought into this highly poetic form ; then this conception of such an unmartial hero would have been too far removed, too pure, and therefore unintelligible to that material and martial age. But that the Romans had more even than a vague knowledge of the expected Jewish Messiah is clear from the fact that at the time when this poem was published the Jews were both numerous and influential in the city of Rome. Moreover, they lived almost entirely in the future. Their whole life, their ritual, their social organization, their domestic habits were filled with the spirit of prophecy. Now, their confident hope, rapidly, as they thought, nearing fulfillment, their boastfulness of the deliverance at hand, must surely have arrested the attention of those around them ; especially at the time when this poem was written. For men were expecting change, it was a period marked by transition in every phase—a period in which the old order was crumbling away, when the huge fabric which centuries of superstition had reared up was already swaying to its fall. In a word, it was a period when all the elements of social, political, and religious life were hanging, as it were, in solution, about to crystallize into forms and shapes how strange or how marvelous none could tell.

But apart from these considerations we have abundant and unimpeachable testimony that the Jewish predictions were known to the Romans and that those predictions were not without effect. Suetonius, Rome's most careful historian, writing of these very times, says : "There had been spread abroad (*percrebuerat*), through the whole East, an ancient and fixed opinion that Judea would send forth those who should obtain supreme authority." And Tacitus has this to say with reference to the same period : "There is a general persuasion that it is contained in the ancient books of the priests that at this very time the East should gain the ascendancy and Judea should furnish rulers for the world." Tac., *Hist.*, 5, 13.

The "ancient books of the priests" referred to were undoubtedly the Sibylline books, and there are still other indications that these mysterious books contained vague references to the prevalent Jewish expectation. It has been supposed that

these Sibylline books were among the sources Vergil used in composing his Fourth Eclogue ; but without going into this question in detail, we may say that such a theory involves grave difficulties.¹ Independently, then, of any inference that might be drawn from the Sibylline books, we know for certain that the expectation current among the Jews was not only known throughout the entire Roman world, but was, moreover, regarded with considerable concern by all—rulers and ruled alike. What more skillful device, then, could Vergil have employed than to divert this splendid prophecy away from the Jews and to lodge its fulfillment among the Romans ? What more poetical theme could he have chosen than to wrest the promised diadem from the house of David and to crown with it the heir of the Cæsars ? Here was a prediction promising unheard of power—power beyond the dream of poet—a prediction floating about among a people for whom the Roman mind had, at the best, but tolerant contempt. And so the poet deftly detaches this surpassing prediction from its foreign setting and skillfully mounts it in the coronet of that family which was even then clutching at the imperial purple.

Finally, Vergil was a man of a very extensive but of curious erudition.² There are many hints in the meagre accounts of his life that have come down to us ; many more in his works to indicate that he possessed much knowledge of a rare and unusual kind. The Georgics are a veritable mine of most curious investigation and closest observation ; so discerning, indeed, that in many respects they hardly need revision even in our day. Again, his wide and frequent deviations from the current versions of popular fables are further evidences of the care he exercised in investigating and comparing various national and mythological traditions. Now, at the time this eclogue was written, and, indeed for many years before, the

¹ No one had access to these Sacred Books except the Quindecimviri, their lawful custodians. Cicero tried very hard to consult them, but was not allowed to do so. Besides, it is improbable that these books contained any prophecy as full and as detailed as that contained in the Fourth Eclogue. At the time this eclogue was published the collection of the Sibylline sayings must have existed in a very fragmentary condition ; for the original collection had been burned a half century before. What went under the name of Sibylline books was merely a collection of real or pretended fragments. The collection *now* extant contains many of the materials employed by Vergil ; but it is a compilation of Biblical material that cannot possibly be earlier than the year 188 A.D. Cf. Encycl. Brittan., sub voc. Sibylline Books.

²Cf. H. Nettleship, *Ancient Lives of Vergil*. London, 1879.

Sacred Books of the Jews existed in their *Greek translation*. Consequently they were accessible to Vergil. We have seen that the Jews were both powerful and numerous at this time in Rome. They numbered between thirty and forty thousand.¹ They had their synagogues, an organized worship,² and their services were undoubtedly conducted in the Greek language. The Jewish Scriptures were, therefore, in constant use in the city of Rome itself, and were easily accessible in a language which Vergil knew almost as well as his own. Now since we know him to have been fond of exploring the by-paths of knowledge, is it not extremely probable that he actually procured a copy of those books and read for himself the strange lore and stranger beliefs which they contained?

Herod, the King of Judea, who certainly knew of the coming of the Jewish Messiah, was an intimate friend of Pollio, the Roman consul to whom this eclogue was dedicated. So close was this friendship between Pollio and Herod that the latter, during his many visits to Rome, was in the habit of lodging at the house of Pollio. Vergil, too, was an intimate friend of Pollio, and it is not unlikely that he actually met Herod at Pollio's house and learned from him of the prophecy that was current among the Jews. This would have incited Vergil all the more to seek out and to read the Jewish Scriptures respecting the coming King. Nor could he have failed when he had read them to see at a glance how exalted a tribute this theme might furnish him for the anticipated birth which his poem celebrates. JOHN D. MAGUIRE.

¹ Schürer (Hist. of the Jewish People, sec. 31.) says: "In these provinces (Mesopotamia, Media and Babylonia) the Jews were numbered not by thousands but by millions. Philo. Legat. ad Galum, sec. 83, Mang. II, 582: tells us that the Jews dwelt in large numbers in every city. The same author estimates the Jewish inhabitants of Egypt at about one million. Philo, in Flaccum, sec. 6, Mang. II, 528. Schürer in the work already cited, p. 292, says that "in Rome itself the Jewish community was numbered by thousands." For further confirmation and more particular estimates, see Auer, Die Juden in Rom unmittelbar vor und nach Christi Geburt (Zeitschr. für die gesammte kathol. Theol. vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 66-205) Hausrath, Neutestamentl. Zeitsch. III, 383-392. Renan, Paulus, p. 181 sqq. Huidekoper, Judaism at Rome. Hild, Les Juifs à Rome devant l'opinion et dans la littérature (Revue des études juives, V. VIII, pp. 1-87. Hudson, History of the Jews in Rome, 2nd ed. London, 1884.

² Schürer, Hist. of the Jewish People. pp. 247, 222, 284. "From the Roman Inscriptions," says Schürer, "we gather that the Jews living in Rome were divided into a large number of separate and independently organized communities (*συναγωγαί*) each having its own synagogue, gerousia and public officials." Cf. also Schürer, Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in der Kaiserzeit nach den Inschriften dargestellt, Leipzig, 1879.

ORIENTAL SCHOOLS.—I.

THE TALMUDIC JEWISH PRIMARY SCHOOL.¹

The century just closed has been one of enlightenment. It has seen a prodigious number of schools of all grades erected all over the civilized world, even in remotest corners of the uncivilized world. During its course, a single nation, the United States, youngest of all, has raised its yearly expenditure for instruction to a figure much higher than the whole budget of any nation at the dawn of the same century. The methods of teaching have progressed still more than any other factor of instruction. Numerous educators, some of whom rank foremost in the world of thought, have spent a lifetime in studying the child's mind to find out the best methods of presenting to pupils the objects of knowledge. Numberless contrivances have been framed to facilitate its acquisition. Special books have been printed by thousands to show the teacher how to sweeten the bitter root of learning and make it palatable to the most reluctant child. In other words nothing

¹All our information on this subject is derived from the Talmud, Palestinian and Babylonian. In the past it has been worked over into several good monographs, e. g., T. Simon, *l'Éducation et l'Instruction des enfants chez les anciens Juifs*, Leipzig, 1879; Spiers, *The School System of the Talmud*; Van Gelder, *Die Volksschule des Jüdischen Alterthums*, Berlin, 1879. Ginsburg, *Education*, in Kitto's *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature*. Cf. also the Histories of the Jewish People, such as Millman's, Schürer's, Graetz's, etc., and the *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, by S. S. Laurie, (2d edit.) London, 1900. Most exhaustive and satisfactory, although non-methodically arranged, are the articles *Erziehung, Lehrer, Lehrhaus, Schule, Schüler, Unterricht*, in Hamburger's *Real Encyclopædie des Judenthums*, Neustrelitz, 1896.

For centuries the Talmud was almost a sealed letter to everybody outside of the Jewish scholars. But since the closing decades of the last century there exists an excellent translation of the Talmud of Jerusalem, by Mr. Moïse Schwab of the *Revue des Études Juives* ("Le Talmud de Jérusalem," 11 vols., 8°, Paris, 1870-1890). A critical edition of the Talmud of Babylonia, with a German translation, is also in course of publication.—(Lazarus Goldsmith, "Der Babylonische Talmud." Berlin: S. Calvary & Co.)

We cannot recommend with the same confidence an American English translation in course of publication by Rodkinson. The scholar who wishes to use these translations for purposes of research will do well to read first some introductory work. To American readers we recommend the "Introduction to the Talmud" of M. Mielziner, (American and Hebrew Publishing House, Cincinnati and Chicago). They will find therein most valuable information on everything that concerns the Talmud itself (composition, methods, rules of interpretation, editions of text, translations, commentaries, bibliography), or the auxiliaries to its study (lexicons, grammars, chrestomathies, introductory works, etc.). We recommend also the various articles of S. M. Shiller Shinessy (Talmud, Mishna, etc.), in the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

has been left undone that could contribute to the rapid diffusion of knowledge. Thanks to steam and electricity, a scientist or a scholar has no sooner reached a solution after a life-long research than the result of their protracted vigils is presented as in a nutshell, and made accessible to the intelligence of the simplest pupils of the humblest school in the remotest part of the world.

Theoretically, all this is perfect. If the result does not always answer their expectation, educators lay the blame sometimes on the child, more frequently on the teacher, seldom on their own methods. Not necessarily so the public. "*Autres temps, autres mœurs.*" Parents have not forgotten the time when they were educated. How primitive, how rudimentary were the methods! How severe was the discipline and yet how more appreciative were the children of the opportunities given them! Many wonder whether the superiority of the present methods over the old ones, far from being absolute, is not essentially relative, in the sense that they are better adapted to the times in which we are living. They reach more individuals, but do they reach higher? Some claim that they are more humane. Such, no doubt, consider education to be a necessary evil. To others, however, new methods seem lax and inefficient. Those think that study is a supreme good, not only because it leads to possession of truth, but also because it brings into action and strengthens the best and noblest faculties of man, freeing the spirit from the ever-encroaching sway of matter. With them we sympathize.

It is at least questionable whether every point of the system of education now in force is a real improvement, marks a real progress on the past. And as our mind, more or less biased by the current opinion, is rather apt to disregard and totally discard the older systems of education, without distinguishing between what is decayed and what still contains a germ of life, it may not come amiss to occasionally look back at those systems and draw a parallel between their methods and results and the methods and results of our own school system. In treating of the systems once prevalent in the East, especially in Syria and Babylonia, the writer hopes to present material for useful comparison of the past and present. We shall begin with a

general survey of the workings of the primary schools among the Jews during the Talmudic times.

The principle of intellectual education with the Jews is as old as the Mosaic Law, of which it is an immediate and necessary consequence, the parents being required by the Law to teach the same to their children. This cannot be done without an intellectual as well as a moral education. Education, however, in the pre-exilic times was mostly oral, either by the parents or some near relatives, in some cases by special and regular tutors. Schools for children are essentially a post-exilic institution, possibly borrowed from the Chaldeans.

There is no doubt that the purpose of this establishment was patriotic as well as religious. After the Babylonian Captivity the Jews, seeing their political independence threatened, understood that their nationality would soon be dissolved and merged into that of their conquerors if they did not cling to their religion, which alone could keep them forever distinct from other races and nations. In fact, the first mention of schools for children dates from the beginning of the first century before Christ, when Simon, son of Shetach, president of the Sanhedrin, decreed that all children should receive education in public schools. Nevertheless, it was not until the period that follows the Fall of Jerusalem (A. D. 70) that public schools seem to have been established throughout Palestine, owing to a decree of the High Priest Jesus ben Gamla.¹ According to the Talmudic sources at our disposal those schools spread with unparalleled rapidity. Jerusalem counted 480 schools, while, under the administration of Barcochba, the fortress of Bethar would have reached the still higher figure of 500. The Patriarch R. Simon ben Gamaliel narrates that in his father's house 1,000 children received instruction, 500 in the Law and 500 in the "Greek Wisdom."²

To enforce this most important law of education which had become the last resource of the Jewish nationality, its excel-

¹ See, however, on this point, Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 353.

² We readily admit that some allowance must be made for oriental imagination. The Talmudic figures, however, seen in their proper light, will not seem after all too exaggerated. For not only could the Sanhedrin enforce a law more thoroughly than any religious or civil body could now do, but the limits of age were farther apart than in any other system of public schools. Besides, it is more than likely that most of the schools had a relatively small number of pupils.

lent and absolute necessity were constantly held up before the eyes of the people.

"Do you wish to destroy the Jews," says the legendary Eunomos of Gadara to the enemies of Israel, "then destroy their schools. For as long as those subsist and the children are instructed in the doctrine of their God, you can nothing against them." "Jerusalem," says a writer of the third century, "has been destroyed because the children have been distracted from the school." "The world," says Patriarch Rabbi Jnda II, "does not subsist except by the breath of school children: Do not interfere with the school teaching were it to rebuild the temple." "One must not settle in a town without school or teacher," was a common saying.

We are told that two school inspectors came once to a town and asked to be directed to the keeper of the city. They were taken to the magistrates. "These," they replied, "are not the keepers but the destroyers of the city. The keepers of the city are the school teachers, for that reason was it said: Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." Ps. cxxvii, 2.

The school teacher ranked next to God in the eyes of his disciples:

Rabbi Eleazar used to say, "Honor your disciple like yourself, your colleague like your teacher, and your teacher like God." And again: "He who receives his teacher, receives God at the same time."

According to Rabbi Akibas, the words of Deuteronomy (vi-13), "Thou shalt fear thy God," contain also an order to revere the man of learning:

"If your father and your teacher lose something and you find it, bring back first to your teacher what he has lost, then to your father, because the son owes to his father this life only, while he owes the life of the hereafter to the teacher who taught him the wisdom." "If father and teacher carry a burden, the teacher must be relieved first." "If father and teacher are taken into captivity, the teacher is to be released before the father." In a general way: "The disciple must render to his teacher the same services as a servant renders to his master, except to take off his shoes."¹

The first and most sacred duty of the parents was to take their children to school and deliver them in person into the hands of the teacher. A famous rabbi used never to breakfast until he had complied with that important duty. "For," said

¹ Those last words afford a luminous illustration of the expression of St. John the Baptist: "The latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose (John I, 27); also of the *Mandatum* of our Lord (ibid., c. XIII).

he, "the duty to take children to school takes precedence of all others."

The usual name for the Jewish elementary school was *Be-Sepher* or House of the Book, that is, of the Book of the Law, because the ultimate end of the elementary school was to teach the children the text of the law. It was quite frequently located in the Synagogue or House of Prayer, together with the *Be-Talmud* or House of Doctrine, where the text of the Law is expounded, mostly from oral tradition. Sometimes, however, the elementary school was in the house of the teacher and was called "House of the Scribe,"¹ or in buildings erected for that purpose; then it went by the name of *Be-Ulfana*, "House of the Teaching," or some other name of the same general description. Any community with twenty-five children of school age was obliged to provide for them a school with one teacher. For forty children, the teacher was to have an assistant, and for fifty, two teachers were required. In most cases the head of the Synagogue was also the schoolmaster, but this was merely for convenience sake.

Only married men of spotless character could fill the office of schoolmaster. "Like the Ark of the Covenant, which was covered with gold both inside and outside, so must a teacher be of a pure exterior and interior as well." Science was the next requisite, depth being preferred to surface. Age was also considered. "He who learns from a young man is like unto one who eats unripe grapes or drinks new wine," was the common saying. "However," said Rabbi Meïr, "do not look at the jar, but at what it contains, for some new jars contain very old wine and a good many old jars do not contain even new wine." Another requisite was fluency, a good command of speech, not only in expressing the subject-matter of the teaching, but also in meeting the questions and objections of the pupils. In every case the teacher was to act with readiness and perfect confidence, so as not to leave the slightest cloud of doubt in the minds of his pupils.

Although it was a duty, consequently a right, for the different communities to appoint teachers in sufficient number to instruct all the children, anybody properly qualified for teaching could open a school anywhere, of his own accord, even by

¹ School teachers were generally selected from among the Scribes.

the side of an official school. Instruction being obligatory, it was also necessarily free, in the sense that it was at the expense of the community. At first the teachers received no salary. It was considered a duty for the one who was learned to teach the others. There were always, therefore, some well-to-do men who volunteered their services for the office of teacher. "Do not make knowledge a crown to appear great; but neither make it a spade to dig (that is, to make a living),¹ for he who uses the crown (science) as a spade shall perish." To avoid even the appearance of making a living by teaching, it was required of all teachers to have a profession or a trade, which was supposed to support them. In course of time, however, it became more and more difficult to supply the schools with competent teachers without offering them some compensation for the neglect of their trade and for the time and care they bestowed on the children independently of the actual teaching. That compensation took place originally in the shape of occasional presents made by the community; later on a sum of money was assigned each teacher.² It was then well understood that the stipend was exclusively for the material portion of the tuition—spelling, reading, translating, etc.—not for the explanation of the Bible. The teacher was dispensed from all taxes in money, kind, or labor. He could resign, provided he secured a competent substitute; but he could not be removed against his will, except for teaching error or being ignorant or other wise unequal to his position.³ These few privileges, we shall see, were rather a poor compensation for the duties imposed on the teacher.

The school-age was five years in Palestine and six in Babylonia. School time lasted from morning until evening, even until late in the night. It is not said whether the same pupils engaged the attention of the teacher during all that time.

¹ "To dig" was synonymous with "making a living." Cf. Genesis, iii, 17.

² It seems that sums of money were contributed by the families whose children frequented the school. "I teach all children, rich or poor," said a schoolmaster; "when people cannot pay, I teach their children gratuitously."

³ Some, like Rabbi Dimi, thought that the mere fact that a more competent rival presented himself was a sufficient reason to dismiss a relatively inferior, although fairly good, teacher. Others, however, were opposed to this policy on the plea that the preferred teacher would be apt to become proud. The question does not seem to have been considered from the standpoint of justice, every teacher, as we have said before, being supposed to have an independent revenue from his trade or profession.

This, however, is very likely. There were no vacations, with the exception of the holy days. On the Sabbath nothing new was taught, but the matter of the whole preceding week was rehearsed. Later it was found that attendance during an entire day was above the strength, or conflicted with the household duties, of some of the children. The school time was then reduced to five hours, or even, during the two warmest months of the year, to four hours. But it seems that the reduction was for the pupil only, not for the teacher, whose work, in one way or another, was unbroken. Rabh, a famous expounder of the Thorah, saw once a schoolmaster walking in his garden, at which he showed considerable surprise, for he had always held that man to be a very conscientious and hardworking teacher. The schoolmaster told him: "For twelve years I had not seen my garden, and still now I do not rest, for my thoughts are busy with my pupils."

Jewish education had one principal rubric: Religion. Mostly in view of it, the following arts or sciences were taught: Reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, foreign languages, music, both vocal and instrumental, natural sciences, drawing, etc. It is probable that several of those branches were taught privately at home; at least we have no certain evidence that they were part of the school curriculum.¹

We learn from the Talmud that at the age of five children began to study the *Mikra*, or art of reading the law, beginning with the Leviticus; at ten they began the study of the *Mishna*, a periphrastic repetition of the law; at fifteen the *Gemara*, a commentary on the *Mishna*, based principally on oral tradition. The *Mikra* supposed at least an elementary knowledge of reading, writing, counting, grammar, poetry and music, as all this was required for the proper textual understanding of the Law and its public reading in the synagogue. For the *Mishna* and *Gemara* a good many more branches besides the ones just named were necessary. It is, however, hardly to be doubted that most of these were not taught separately, and for themselves as done in our modern schools, but *en passant*, by way

¹ Such branches certainly belonged to the "Greek Wisdom," alluded to above. Concerning this kind of schools, unfortunately, we have hardly any knowledge beyond the fact that some such institutions existed. On all these details of Jewish teaching we have only the most general information.

of digression as the occasion presented itself to the teacher. Reading and writing may have been taught more systematically and especially more thoroughly than the other branches, as they constituted the foundation of the training for the profession of scribe. It is hardly necessary to remark that the expressions, "reading and writing," were then a great deal more comprehensive than they now are. By reading was meant not only to apprehend the meaning of something written, but also the art of reciting or reading aloud with the proper inflexions required by grammar, poetics, liturgy, etc. Just so, writing meant not only the art of tracing readable characters, but also calligraphy, drawing, figuring, and the rules of composition.

The method followed by the Jewish schoolmasters was a very simple one, wonderfully well adapted to nature and to the circumstances of that early period. Books, of course, were rare. Likely enough, they were but of little use for the teaching that was mainly oral.¹ The master first read a short passage of the Law and made the pupils repeat it with him until they knew it by heart. The passage could not be too short :

"If you embrace much, you embrace nothing, but if you embrace little, you embrace something." "Better little and well, than much and not well." "A little to-day and something again to-morrow until all is done." "God did not teach Moses the law all at one time, but at several intervals, so he could reflect between the different sections."

The duty of the master therefore was first to commit to his pupils' memory a portion of the sacred text, then to make them understand it, and finally to make them remember forever both the text and the explanations.

The pupil was made to write the sentence pronounced by the professor and to repeat it aloud until he knew it. Reading without moving the lips was discountenanced.—"Open your mouth if you want the doctrine to abide and live with you." They narrated that a disciple of Rabbi Eliezer forgot, in three years, everything he knew, because he had learned it by himself, and without articulating. To relieve the memory different

¹The children sat in a half circle in presence of the teacher whose seat was somewhat higher so that every one of the pupils could see him and hear his words distinctly. "Thine eyes shall see thy leader" (Is. xxx, 20). The disciples literally "ab ore magistrī pendebant."

mnemotechnical processes were excogitated. The simplest of these was to write down only the first letter of each word and to use it as a starting point to remember the whole word. All the initial letters of the words of the same sentence were then grouped into one or several words of familiar or striking appearance. Some *signs* were suggested to the pupil by the master; but the pupils were advised to invent these memory-helps for themselves. "The Torah," said Rabbi Chasda, "cannot be learned without signs; make signs for yourselves." Much the same method was employed to bring home to the pupil the intelligence of the passage he had succeeded in committing to memory. The master was to repeat his explanation until it was grounded into the pupils' heads. Rabbi Akiba used to repeat four hundred times the same explanation, until his pupils had understood. Pupils of equal mental capacity were to rehearse the lesson together, "because as iron whets iron so pupils' minds can sharpen one another." A more advanced student was also advised to rehearse with a younger one, for, "as a small piece of wood can set a larger one on fire, so can the intelligence of a younger boy give acumen to that of his senior in years and study."¹ When it became evident a pupil could not make any progress under a teacher, he was encouraged to visit other schools, in the hope that another teacher would be more successful with him. For teaching was to a considerable extent individual in that sense at least, that the teachers were required to take into account the idiosyncracies of each pupil. "Guide the boy according to his inclinations, and knowledge shall never depart from him even when he is old" (Prov. xxxii, 6). Failure to learn on the part of a faithful pupil, was invariably laid to neglect or incapacity of the teacher.

A great forbearance was recommended to the teachers. Small children, as late as the age of twelve, were rarely punished, especially for not understanding the teacher's explana-

¹In his exposition the teacher was to be as brief and concise as possible. He frequently started by asking questions from his pupils on the matter of the class, so as to see on which points he had to insist most. The pupils were also at freedom to ask questions; but they were cautioned not to do so the moment the teacher entered, nor to ask irrelevant questions. The teacher on his side was to avoid digression, except where necessary, or by way of relaxation: even then, he was supposed to be instructive.

tious. It was admitted that up to that age they had not the power of attention nor the judgment necessary to make use of their reason. Indeed, until thirteen, boys were not responsible for their actions nor were they bound to observe the law. Their parents were obliged to provide for their education. Their thirteenth year once completed, they became *sui juris*.

When their sense of honor was not sufficient to stimulate them, boys were encouraged by the promise of a reward. It is said of a famous Rabbi that he was always well supplied with candies for the little ones of his school. "Children," said another Rabbi, "should be punished with one hand and caressed with two." After the age of twelve corporal punishment was used in case of stubbornness and laziness, but at this period far less strictly than we might expect. The author of the Book of Proverbs had said: "Withhold not correction from the child, for if thou beat him with the rod, he shall not die. Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from the Sheol." The Jewish school regulations prohibited the rod; a simple strap was to be used, so as not to injure the pupils. If that was not sufficient for the purpose, it was advised to let the delinquent alone and to wait patiently until the sense of duty or emulation would develop in him. Dull children who could not learn were not punished. A grown pupil was not to receive corporal punishment under any circumstance, as it might provoke him to the sin of anger and rebellion against his teacher.

Such was the system of the Jewish primary school in Talmudic times. Well, indeed, could Josephus say: "Our principal care is the education of our children, and we consider that the most necessary accomplishment of life consists in the fulfillment of the Law and in the piety that goes along with it." If we judge that system by its success in attaining the end which its authors had in view, we must confess that it was nearly as good as it could then be.

The fact that it applied to male children only is, perhaps, not the least suggestive feature of it.

HENRY HYVERNAT.

SOME LITERARY ASPECTS OF AMERICAN BOTANY.—II.

As was indicated in the first article of this series, during the early years of what may be known in history as the end-of-the-century revival of interest in American botany, almost all our serial publications on that subject were designated either as "Bulletins" or "Contributions," this nomenclatural sameness being obviously due to lack of inventiveness on the part of new aspirants to the rank of botanical authorship deficient in literary culture and without scholarly thoughtfulness.

There was a botanist of the time whose appreciation of, and even veneration for, the illustrious author of the "Contributions to Botany" would have deterred him from bringing his own humble position and tentative work into contrast with those of Asa Gray by adopting his title. Another consideration of some weight was this, that some other, and even less experienced, students of botany had already seemed to aspire to peerage with Dr. Gray by borrowing the conspicuous part of his title. Being therefore averse to making himself the author of another set of "Contributions," this botanist chose for his first series of papers the title of *Studies*, a caption unobtrusive, unpretentious, promising nothing of any special significance, and laying the author open to no charge of aspiring to equality with our native American botanical celebrity whose very important dissertations had been labelled "Contributions."

It is now more than sixteen years since the first instalment was issued of the "*Studies in the Botany of California and Parts Adjacent*;"¹ and a retrospect reveals it that these "*Studies*" had somewhat more in them of far-reaching consequence than the author of them could have anticipated. This first issue appears to have been the only paper published in

¹Bull. Cal. Acad. 1. 66-127 (Feb., 1895.)

our country in the lifetime of the then venerable author of the "Contributions to Botany" which had the effect of awakening in his mind any serious apprehensions as to the future prevalence in American botany of his own rigidly conservative taxonomic principles. Away back, almost at the beginning of his career, he had been confronted by innovators, like Rafinesque and Buckley, and had promptly placed their various propositions under the ban of his disapproval, which ban has now been removed, so that these men now live again, in their works, which are found to contain much in the line of actual, and very valuable, contribution to plant taxonomy. So, also, the "Studies," while not proclaiming, formally, any new principles, though implying reformatory doctrines in almost every paragraph, were also promptly, but with a gentleness not always characteristic of that author, anathematized.¹ Two years later, however, the ban was completely removed, when the author of the "Contributions" adopted precisely the reformed *Eschscholtzia* and the reformed *Sidalcea* of the "Studies" which he had condemned,² and to-day it will nowhere be questioned that the taxonomic reform now prevailing everywhere amongst us had its initiative in the first number of the "Studies in the Botany of California and Parts Adjacent."

But a fact in history that is more germane to the present discussion is that our "Studies" title also seems to have marked the beginning of a departure by American botanists from the threadbare use of "Contributions" as a caption, and after the lapse of sixteen years it has come to pass that the number of serial papers either finished or still in progress as "Studies" makes an approximation to those called "Contributions."

Let me here give, for purposes of examination and criticism, a selection of them.

1. Minnesota Botanical Studies (University of Minnesota).
2. University Studies (University of Nebraska).
3. Studies in the Flora of the Central Gulf Region.
4. Studies in the Herbarium (University of Chicago).

¹Am. Journ. Science, Ser. 3, xxx, 321.

²Proc. Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences, xxii. 270-288 (1887).

5. Studies in the Botany of the Southeastern United States.
6. Studies in the Leguminosæ (Columbia University, New York).
7. Studies of the Forests of Japan (Harvard University).
8. Studies in Plant Physiology (Columbia University).
9. Studies of Mexican and Central American Plants.
10. Studies upon the Cyperacæ.
11. Biological Studies on Figs, etc.
12. Studies on the Seeds and Fruits of Berberidacæ.
13. Studies on American Grasses.
14. Studies on Flower and Embryo of Sparganium (Stanford University).
15. Studies on Subterranean Organs (Kansas Agricultural College).
16. Studies among our Common Hepaticæ.

This kind of title for serial papers is also, like others, in most instances subordinate to the name, usually shorter, of the magazine or journal in which the articles are published, and thus do not require to be repeated in citation. But in the case of number 1 of the above list this is not true. It is the sole title to a not unimportant set of large volumes; and for matter of this kind the name of "Studies" is not happily chosen, because the term is one which does not lend itself to abbreviation with any ease or grace. About the best that can be done in the way of cutting down the title "Minnesota Botanical Studies" for use in the frequent quotation seems to be "Minn. Bot. Studies," and that is inconveniently long, though by no means among the very bad cases.

I must record it as a curious coincidence that within two hours from the moment of my having concluded the last paragraph, there came to my table the wholly unexpected first issue of "Biltmore Botanical Studies," which the title-page says is to be a "Journal of Botany embracing Papers by the Director and Associates of the Biltmore Herbarium." This will therefore fall exactly into line with the "Minnesota Botanical Studies," of which, as to its title, it is so obviously an imitation, and will be subject to the same kind of comment.

Returning to the consideration of the above list of titles, I find decidedly interesting that choice preposition which our

writers have made in trying to express relation between study and the object or objects of study. In easy, natural and idiomatic English only *in* and *of* seem really available for this purpose. In the plural, studies are *studies in* some subject; in the singular it is a *study of* some subject; and these two word-particles *in* and *of* not only abundantly suffice for all the purposes of that kind of statement; the employment of *on*, *upon*, or *among* in such cases is awkward, un-English and intolerable. The rule that Studies are *in* a given subject, and that a Study is *of* something, is not of course without exception. In number 7 of the above, the author was obliged to say "Studies of the Forests of Japan," because it was the trees that make up the forests that had been the subjects of study. Studies in the forests might be studies of plant undergrowths, or even of animals, having their abodes there. But it may be insisted upon that all those other prepositions *on*, *upon*, and *among* are out of place in such connection as in which they occur in our numbers 10 to 16. They have distinctly a foreign sound to the ear of any and all whose mother tongue is English. The Germans, indeed, say *Studien über*, and the Scandinavians *Studier over*. It is correct and idiomatic in those languages; and the greater number of botanical writers in this country who force this idiom into English are foreign-born. But there are a few others whose employment of it one can scarcely account for except on the supposition of their having deliberately added this to some other affectations of Teutonism which one might name, and which do little credit to American science.

Having had much to say, and that in the direction of adverse criticism, of titles in which Bulletin, Contributions, and Studies are leading terms, it would not surprise me if some careless reader of these paragraphs should charge me with inveighing against the further employment of these terms in headings of botanical papers; though nothing amounting to this has been said, or even implied. Those terms, and their equivalent in other languages, have been in use for centuries, and will so continue; nor is there any reason why they should not, except in cases where one of them is the leading word in a long title, which title is the name of a volume or series of volumes, and

which must therefore tax the patience of writers who are compelled to quote them. The rise and progress of the use of those words in American botany I have, indeed, found interesting, especially the perverted use of them. I have distinctly said that little or no importance attaches to even cumbrous titles, so long as they are subordinate to the short title in a volume in which they merely head articles, and therefore do not trouble him who has to quote them. But when a series of volumes all replete with important matter new to botany is known by no briefer name than that of "Contributions from the United States National Herbarium," such a name is, and will forever remain, a bibliographic burden and annoyance, as demanding for every paragraph to be cited the appending of all the following array of syllables: "Contr. U. S. Nat. Herb." Any one conversant with the usages—necessary usages, too, I may say—of taxonomic science, will realize the truthfulness of the statement I now make, that this same cumbersome pentasyllabic abbreviation will have to be written and printed over and over again, not a few score or a few hundred times, but thousands of times, in future botanical works; and it is easy to see that there might have been, in place of this long citation so necessary to be repeated to the end of botanical time, one consisting of a single syllable, had those responsible for the framing of the title been a little forethoughtful, somewhat inventive in matters appertaining to the literary side of botany, and also willing to let pass the opportunity of thus advertising a governmental department. The store is practically inexhaustible of short names, mythological or botanical—many of them at once mythological and botanical—from which scholarship may draw such titles as admit of natural and easy abbreviation to a single syllable for quotation. Of this character are "Pittonia" and "Erythea," serials, named and inaugurated years ago by the present writer, and also the more newly established "Rhodora" and "Torreya" among botanical journals in this country. The recently instituted Carolinian botanical journal referred to above, entitled "Biltmore Botanical Studies," has a name that can scarcely be abbreviated to anything less than the "Biltn. Bot. Studies." Such a title as "Biltmorea," for example, would have been better every way, and its abbrevia-

tion, "Biltm." would have reduced the time and space required in making citation to one-third of that which the title as it is demands.

In a miscellaneous list of articles in botanical journals many seem invested with characters inviting comment. There is one class of them which invariably begins with the expression, "Undescribed Plants from" this, that, or the other region, or locality. This is of quite modern invention, and one which has already become very popular, judging from the frequency with which it occurs. It is not, to my mind, so objectionable as to merit grave censure; but it is so completely paradoxical that I do not see how any one accustomed to read into words their actual meaning could employ it. These articles headed "Undescribed Plants" are invariably found to consist of nothing else but plant descriptions; descriptions, too, of no other species whatsoever than those alluded to in the heading as undescribed. Indeed, "Descriptions of Undescribed Plants" is exactly the paradox that is perpetrated, in effect if not so patently, in every paper headed as I have indicated. Of course, the meaning of the writer in each instance is, Plants Hitherto Undescribed. But why not, then, say so? The papers are, I believe, always in regular named journals, so that the length of the heading is of no consequence, yet in but one instance do I observe that a botanist has taken the trouble to annul this very popular paradox by supplying the needed word.¹ Without finding this kind of title seriously faulty, as usually written, I may still say that, from the point of view of science—science, that should always be accurate, even in its expression—it were much better to avoid flat contradiction even in the wording of a title.

But perhaps more interest will be found to center in the question of the psychologic origin of this sort of caption than in the matter of its actual imperfection, as being almost or quite self-contradictory. Throughout the history of botany during several centuries past a most considerable proportion of the botanical matter published has embodied diagnoses of new genera and species of plants. Many hundreds of articles and not a few volumes, issued in decades and even centuries

¹ "Plants Hitherto Undescribed," *Eryth.*, III, 116.

past, relating to what is now the fashion to designate loosely and evasively "Undescribed Plants," were given forth under the simple, straightforward, and definite title of "New Plants," or "New Species of Plants." There can be no more natural, more easy, or more correct caption than the old one for this kind of botanical literature. Why have one or more inventive-minded botanical writers, whom many others were sure to imitate, abandoned the earlier and so-long-approved expression in favor of a new one which is not only paradoxical but also loose and evasive? Has the wide acceptance of evolutionary theory as to the origin of species had the effect of altering with some botanists their notion of the validity of species and thus caused them to undervalue the usefulness of the term? The affirmative of this will imply either a misunderstanding as to the meaning of the term or else some very fallacious reasoning, if not both. Genera and species are mental concepts, mere abstractions. They are purely metaphysical terms, as much so in their application to groups of living entities as elsewhere in human speech. No possible theory of origin of genera and species can do away with them or even lessen their usefulness. Either this fundamental principle is not understood or else there is loose reasoning on the part of any who fancy that, under evolutionary theories, the force of the term species has been diminished. Probably no two botanists' ideas of any genus or of any particular species of plants ever were precisely the same; but that consideration is as far as possible from necessitating an evasion of either term. We cannot do without them. Even our describers of "Undescribed Plants" if asked whether they are describing new individuals or new species, will every one promptly answer, "new species." Will any such explain, and give to the enquiring a reason for the creation and continued reiteration of this curious kind of title?

To this particular line of comment I shall put a period after producing one or two examples illustrative of how freely some contemporary students of plant life may write and publish what is called science, while innocent of the meaning of some of its most common terms.

In a rather recent volume of the *Proceedings* of a certain

Academy of Science there is said to occur a paper entitled : "The Adventitious Plants of Fayette County, Indiana." I am of the opinion that this may have been the first mention made in the literature of botany of adventitious plants. The adjective in question has its application to certain organs of individual plants. But this writer was, no doubt, discussing plant species, and these occurring as adventive in the district named. Now, while adventitious and adventive are of the same derivation, their uses in botany are different and widely separated ; and it belongs to the very rudiments of botanical instruction to impart a knowledge of the precise meaning of just such terms, as they are actually in use. Some lexicographer may, indeed, be found to give adventitious as occasionally synonymous with adventive. But that determines nothing ; and the botanist who should go to a general dictionary for the technical meaning of a very common scientific term, would in so doing virtually confess that he had neglected some important elementary lessons in that science.

Three or four years since a careful investigation was made of a certain type of floral structure represented in a group of plants very common on the Atlantic slope of North America. The type had been studied, at intervals, though, as it now appears, only very superficially, for two centuries and more ; yet the result of this new investigation was, that what the botanists had thus had before their eyes annually for centuries unnoticed was worthy to rank among the most strange and peculiar floral structures that have been observed in the long course of the history of botany ;¹ so curious that the facts as set forth in print were actually discredited at first by some. One of the doubters, after strenuous effort to disprove, by his own examinations and reasonings, the published explanation of this odd anthologic type, having failed to detect the least error in the work of the original investigator, took occasion to present the facts to a public assemblage of botanists and biologists. The title of the paper, as printed on the program for that date, was "Floral Asymmetry in ———." But neither the original exponent of this interesting piece of anthology nor any one else had mentioned any departure from *symmetry*

¹ Cf. Pittonia, III, 238-241 (1887).

in the flower. It is, on the other hand, altogether symmetrical. But very great interest attaches to the *irregularity* of the corolla. The error was that of mistaking irregularity for asymmetry; for the latter term relates solely to the numerical plan of a flower, the latter to the form and proportion of the several parts of each floral circle. In a child's primer of anthology these fundamentals of the science would be stated and the terms defined.

It is not upon record that any botanist of that considerable number of them who heard and discussed the paper upon "Floral Asymmetry in ——," called attention to the fact that no asymmetry had been shown, but only a very peculiar and interesting kind of irregularity. And all this in a city sometimes spoken of as being the chief center of scientific learning on this Continent.

EDWARD L. GREENE.

THE CATHOLIC COLLEGE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.¹

I have no intention to speak as a prophet, nor have I any special knowledge by which I may discern clearly and describe accurately the college of the future. My purpose in this paper is rather to place before you certain facts which may serve as a basis for the solution of the problems of the future. In the perfecting of our collegiate system we should know the difficulties that surround us, find means for solving them, and thus aid this Conference in reaching some practical results. My point of view is not so much the detail of college life as it is a larger and broader view of the college as an element in our educational system.

It would be most interesting to study the work of Catholic collegiate education in the United States in the century which has just closed, and which has culminated in the establishment of this Conference of Catholic Colleges. To describe our first attempts at collegiate instruction, to watch the gradual development of the college from one diocese to another, to note the increase and improvement in our colleges, until to-day nearly two hundred institutions designated as colleges are competing in one form or another in the field of higher education, would indeed furnish opportunities for serious study. Originally intended as feeding schools for the theological seminary they have also developed preparation for the professions and business. The religious orders, with their centuries of traditions as teachers and educators, have built their college systems upon methods which have to their credit the successes of the past, in the education of mankind. Prepared by years of careful study and sanctified by sacrifices, they have been honored by the results. The Benedictine, the Franciscan, the Augustinian, the Dominican, the Jesuit—these names represent a body of teachers who have preserved civil-

¹ Discourse delivered at the Catholic College Conference, Chicago, April 10, by the Rt. Rev. Rector of the University.

zation and educated the world. The system of church schools developing into the university has been the foundation stone upon which the success of the Church as a teacher among the nations has been built. During the hundred years of our educational life these and other religious orders have been the fostering parents of the schools in which the college training of our American Catholic youth for the greater part has been received. Institutions established and maintained by the diocesan clergy and laymen have acted no small part in our educational development and are to-day prominent factors.

It is not necessary to dwell on the difficulties experienced during a century of development, from the day when Georgetown College in 1789 opened its doors to instruction in classics, until the eventful day in 1889, one hundred years later, when the Catholic University welcomed to its graduate school in theology, the representatives from the different dioceses of the country and began the work which has since developed into a great university. The French Revolution, which was so destructive of the external development of Catholic educational work in France, the trials and difficulties under which the English-speaking Catholic world labored in the maintenance of all forms of religious effort, the newness of this great country which had opened its doors to the refugees from tyranny in all sections of the world—all these presented a serious handicap to the development which the Church so ardently desired. Missions had to be established, chapels and churches built, and missionaries found to care for the spiritual wants of a rapidly increasing population. For the first fifty years this demanded the largest share of Church interest. The school, the college, the university, representing the intellectual growth of the people, were to follow what might be called the brick and mortar period in church building. Then, again, large means were lacking among the people, who were mostly poor and generally exiles flying from tyranny and oppression abroad. Wealth was not found to any extent among the Catholic people; yet the spirit of sacrifice which dominated them is nowhere more evident than in their unwillingness to accept the education which the state schools, supported in part by their taxes, stood ready to give them. They

submitted to a double taxation in order that they might establish and maintain parish schools in which their children might receive the blessings of a religious education. Competition with richly endowed state schools has not resulted in diminishing the lustre of the record which the Catholic educational system has made. We need but refer here to the exhibit at the World's Fair in 1893 and listen to the encomiums passed on the educational results obtained in the Catholic schools. A college development, built upon a somewhat different basis from that of the parochial school, yet experiencing much of its difficulty, is glorified by much of its sacrifice, and shares in the same results. We owe almost wholly to the religious orders the foundation of the collegiate institutes, which, without their unselfish devotion, would have been unable to live. We now have an almost complete system in educational work, which may well be called the educational system of the Church, and which, despite all difficulties, may claim its right as a factor in the educational life of this country. The last century witnessed the foundation and growth of this system; the present century has for a duty its perfect development.

Though we have much to be proud of and though we may point with pride to the results of the last one hundred years, it is unwise for us not to realize that entering upon the new century we are practically at a very critical period. Against our system, as against the systems of all private schools, and especially religious ones, is the well-equipped and thoroughly unified organization of state instruction, sustained by public funds. Starting with the primary grades, reaching as a desired result to the completion of intermediate work, the state system at public expense has developed into the high schools, and in many states maintains the university, in which, at public expense, even professional schools are found. The trend is toward national unification and national education, which, we may remember in 1871, were laid down as the planks in the platform of a great national political party.¹ All powers of government were to be centralized in the general government, and social and religious unification was to be established by means of universal and compulsory education. It has

¹ Henry Wilson, *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1871.

also been said recently, by a prominent educator, that the past century has witnessed the organization of system in education, and that the State and State alone has been the controlling influence in education ; adding that, before this century the Church controlled it. The mighty machine of secularized education is threatening to destroy all effort on the part of the individual or the Church in the fields of educational endeavor. To unify and solidify, as well as to improve our system in all its parts, from kindergarten to university, is most urgent, and insomuch as the College is an important element in the system the main purpose of this Conference is to consider its place and duty. Whether we shall succeed in blocking the way of absolute state control in education and thus secure the success of Catholic education in the twentieth century, may largely depend on the action of this association. To my mind there never has been a more critical moment in the battle of religious education against the secularized ideal than at the present time. I believe that danger is imminent to all forms of private schools and colleges, and it behooves us, devoted as we are to the idea of religion in education, to so build our system that it may be proof against all attacks of the non-religious system. Christianity is dependent upon the life of the Christian school idea.

The paternal idea in education is being carried very far. The *Washington Post*, which has combatted paternalism, said, editorially in its issue of April 3d : "All shades of political belief and all sorts and conditions of men seem to have accepted this tremendous expansion of the free school idea as a proper exercise of the taxing power." It is important for us to take counsel together, strengthen our position and solidify our system while we have yet full liberty to act. The danger from state legislation interfering in every possible way with private enterprise in education, the disposition of every experimentalist, in the name of education, to still further enlarge the sphere of state paternalism, the ever-increasing encroachment of state universities upon all forms of public instruction, even in private schools, the disposition to centralize education, to the extent of national control, and last but not least the political machine which threatens to lay hands

upon educational forces for its own ends—all these are reasons which urge us in self-protection to safeguard the principles upon which our education depends and bind together all parts of our system for the purposes of successful defence. The time for isolated action is past. As educators we must not allow ourselves to be occupied exclusively with minor present advantages. The mere success of the particular system to which we may belong, or the immediate results from the particularly well-equipped institution of which we are a part, should not blind us to the fact that the system as a whole is in danger and demands our earnest, unselfish consideration and devotion. In the struggle in which we are engaged other motives than those of education should not absorb our attention. The only way to secure even a particular interest is by concerted action for the general good. All for each and each for all, that there may be no weak strand in the chain which binds us together; for the test of the system is in the weakest and not in the strongest part.

Until the present the general church interest has cared for us and aided us to success. Conditions are changing and the mere name, Catholic, is not enough. We are to be judged by results and must submit to comparisons with other systems. No allowance will be made for our poverty or our weakness. We must compete with the best and in the ways in which the best equipped colleges work or we lose the field. Hence more system is demanded. There must be a differentiation of the elements that unite to form the system. Business is dividing labor so as to reach better results. The master of all trades is a thing of the past. The man needed is the man who can do at least one thing well rather than many things poorly. We suffer from lack of definition of terms. We need to know just what we are expected to do that there may be no overlapping nor confusion in our work. While we hold in general to the principle of a four-years' course for an A. B. in classics one college ideal is clearly defined. The entrance conditions and the qualifications for an A. B. degree show us the limits within which our collegiate work lies. This Conference will discuss the first and I trust that we shall soon consider the second. The moment seems ripe for our colleges to cease to be

preparatory schools as well as colleges. Separate the two very distinctly, and leave to the preparatory school or high school what is but the fitting for college. Overlapping brings confusion, divides our attention, prevents concentration upon our real work and leads to weakness and injury. There need be no friction and no jealousy once we have carefully defined and set apart the different elements of the system and insisted that each part shall do the work for which it has been fitted. What we need is not more colleges but that our colleges do good college work.

It is well for us to be thoroughly acquainted with the facts of the situation, in order that we may intelligently discuss this question. To open a school or college, and to make it a part of the educational system, may seem to be a very simple matter of supply and demand. The school is opened, the people urged in the name of religion to patronize it, the instruction we deem best given, degrees after a time conferred and then there is a certain pointing of pride to the alumni occupying the positions of honor and trust in the community. All this may be true, and yet only be on the surface; the real situation is much more complicated than such statements would warrant. Let us examine the facts which lie around and about these, and which our educational system has really to face. The first fact we meet is the general extent of the State school system, with its rapidly increasing high school, college, and even university development. The free school was originally aimed to fit the people for the ordinary needs of citizenship, and was established particularly against illiteracy. Developed as it is, at the present time, it aims to fit students for the practical business of life, as also to give them admission directly to the university. Its purpose seems to be to make the step easy from the State school to the State university. The addition to the high school course makes it possible for the university to stoop down and assume the higher grades of collegiate work, and thus, by copying the German model, to do away altogether with the college. This is a condition growing more and more threatening which stands face to face with our collegiate system. A second fact is to be noted in the institutions of all sorts that are being endowed by the

private munificence of non-Catholics. Business colleges, schools of engineering, art schools, conservatories of music, trade schools, are springing up in all large centers, attracting even Catholic students, and doing so the more easily because they do not appear as State schools, but rather as the effort of generous individuals in the broader education of the public. But the fact remains, they are not Catholic, and the tendency in teacher and instruction is not toward a respect for the Catholic ideals. This must surely be reckoned with, as our educational system faces the problem. We may find a third fact in the effort very clearly defined during the past few years by which universities with rich endowments are striving for the control of State schools, the dictation of the schedule of work, the papers for the examination of teachers, the definition of the scope and purpose of all public instruction, the desire to have all teachers receive the university degree or certificate of university approval. The trend of educational legislation is the result in many quarters of the universities' desire for control of all schools—private as well as public. The history of school boards in many of our large cities would show us that all those who desire to become teachers, no matter where they have been instructed, nor what may be their qualifications, are forced in some way to be approved either by the universities or by the normal schools or by the regulations suggested by either or both. Examples are not wanting to substantiate this fact. We have only to remember the discussions in the Chicago schools and elsewhere, and the attempts in some of our State legislatures for enactments along these lines.

There is another fact which we would do well to carefully consider, and it is that which refers to strictly scientific publications. We have only to consult the library table of every scientific department to find that such publications come largely from non-Catholic sources, and chiefly from universities equipped in every way for research. Even the more popular publications which flood the market regularly, and are read on all sides, even by Catholics, spring from practically the same source. They are all helps in the education of the people, and they impress upon them the idea that for anything

first-class in science or literature they must go to a non-Catholic source. By constant experience with these statements, our Catholic people are led to look upon the scientific and literary work of Catholics as something quite inferior. It seems to me that these are some of the hard facts which stand over against us in our educational work.

To offset this, there is the very patent and splendid fact that the Catholic Church, out of her poverty, and in spite of all other serious demands upon her for church and charitable development, has spent on education during the past year the magnificent sum of \$25,000,000 and has had under her educational training over 1,000,000 of pupils, 13,000 of whom were under Catholic collegiate instruction. In this estimate there is no account of the money spent for buildings. This means on the part of thousands of teachers most conscientious self-sacrifice, on the part of parents generous devotion to conscience and an ideal, and on the part of students the willing sacrifice of the best years of their lives.

During the first half of the century a very small proportion of Catholic children found it possible to go beyond the grammar grade of school, in fact the same was proportionately true of all children. The increase in collegiate attendance during the past fifty years, in view of the circumstances, has been remarkable, while the number seeking advanced courses has necessarily been small. It is safe to say that in this century, as in the past, the parochial school and the college will continue to supply the demand of those who, for one reason or another, will not be able to pursue advanced courses; but it is also true that, with the material development of the Catholic element in our population, the number of students able and willing to obtain the university advanced degrees will be much larger. The danger from the high school movement to the collegiate and university parts of our system, to my mind, is greater than even that which threatens the parochial school. Hence I assert that this is one of the most important problems for the college. Take the high school from our system, or neglect to develop it according to the demands of the people, and you are practically forcing the graduates of your parochial schools into the State high schools, which, even

more in the future than in the past, are to be the feeders upon which the universities depend. The problem is before us and is becoming more and more urgent: Shall Catholic undergraduate schools serve as feeders to non-Catholic universities? It is not merely the question, which of itself is a serious one: Shall Catholic colleges aim to fit students for non-Catholic universities? The question is deeper and farther reaching: Shall Catholic parochial schools aim to fit them for preparatory schools which lead to non-Catholic colleges, as well as non-Catholic universities? Can we consistently urge Catholics to send their children to lower Catholic schools, and then, when these children are a few years older and are just beginning to think seriously, shall we encourage them to enter the non-Catholic colleges and universities? The danger from the non-Catholic college and university is that instruction is given in them at a time when young men and women are beginning to think for themselves; and we know that if there be no religion at all, or if religion play a minor part, the instruction must be not only defective, but dangerous to the intellectual and spiritual life. It is not likely that men who graduate from non-Catholic colleges and universities will become ardent supporters of the parochial schools and the Catholic college. They may feel that individually they have suffered no loss of faith, no diminution of lustre in their religious beliefs; but they fail to see the thousand and one others who have either lost faith altogether, or have drifted into absolute indifference in religion. Where men receive their highest diploma will be the center around which their affections will turn. If, then, the parochial school act as a feeder to the non-Catholic high school, it is highly probable that a large element of Catholics graduating from the high schools will find its way into non-Catholic colleges and universities, and thus our parochial school without its high school is apt to become a feeder to the non-Catholic college and university. It is idle to say that our Catholic colleges have their preparatory schools which continue the work of the parochial school; these colleges are not to be found in every community, and convenience as well as expense has much to do in determining the place to which students may go.

You may ask what is the solution of this difficulty? One solution is in the unification and co-ordination of the Catholic system of education, which links parochial school with high school and college, and leads to the university which holds the headship of the system. No one will question the wisdom of unification. It has always been a characteristic of the Church. It is the watchword of the hour. It is seen in her government, her discipline, her doctrines and her methods. Her unity has made her irresistible. The rods tied in the bundle cannot be broken. Education unified, systematized, co-ordinated, makes the union which will have strength wherewith to battle successfully against false education. One strand needed to our cable is the high school. How the high school system will be worked out is a question of serious consideration. We know that it is largely a question of finance, while there is also the question of principle as to the right to tax the people for education beyond the grammar grade. Face to face with conditions as they exist, the working out of the high school problem is one that demands the careful attention of all who are interested in Catholic higher education. As to the college, between the upper millstone of the university and the lower millstone of the high school it is important not to lose sight of the trend in public opinion, as made by the state and non-Catholic universities upon the high school movement. We cannot brush the difficulties aside; we must face them like men and carefully consider them.

It will not be amiss to discuss briefly at this point the question of graduate work in college. Although the universities have given to it the proper place in the university proper, yet we know that there is a disposition to introduce it into college or have it done by college instructors. As an element in collegiate discussion it may be touched upon at this moment.

As to the graduate instruction, for which there is an ever increasing demand, as it seems to me, two answers offer themselves. One is in the willingness of Catholic colleges to undertake this instruction; the second, in their readiness to allow this work to be done by the university which is intended and equipped for the work. Looking at the first answer, it is wise to see how far this can be done and what it costs to do it. It is

not merely sufficient that there be willingness on the part of instructors to undertake this work. The adding of the name to the college catalogue does not make the graduate school. There must be preparation on the part of the instructors, and equipment on the part of the school. Here again we face facts. Graduate work to-day is the accepted function of the university, in the proper sense of the term. It demands scientifically trained men who, by their scholarly attainments, are prepared to enter into the field of specialism and fit students to be specialists. It goes beyond mere specialism and enters the broad field of scholarship and produces scholars capable of adding to the knowledge of the world. It requires laboratories and libraries, thoroughly equipped with the best and latest scientific apparatus. Competition is so keen that if we would enter into it we must be prepared to do the work as it is done by the universities liberally endowed. It costs millions to properly endow a modern university. I have carefully compiled a statement by which you may see what is spent in Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Chicago, Cornell and other leading universities, especially in the work of graduate studies. Just as the Catholic college has to compete with the non-Catholic college, so the Catholic graduate school must compete with the non-Catholic university, or else withdraw altogether from the higher education. It is not a question here particularly of professional schools; it is a question of what is known as graduate work, and this affects in large part the future training of teachers for our collegiate work. It is unreasonable to expect graduate work from our college teachers—they are already overtaxed with their present work. No body of men in educational circles are more deserving of consideration and gratitude than the army of teachers who are engaged in maintaining our collegiate instruction, but anyone who studies carefully the relation between collegiate and graduate work, especially in the light of modern university requirements, will readily understand the necessity of special training as well as special fitness for graduate instruction. In specialization alone not a year, nor even three, added to college work can be expected to do the work. It is the effort toward original research; it is the real reaching out of the student in his own personal development in scholar-

ship ; it is the accuracy from concentration of thought, from contact with library and laboratory, by which he adds something to the science to which his life is devoted. The teacher, the library, the laboratory are the elements that train the specialist, the scholar.

You cannot transform the college into a university by the mere change of name, you cannot do graduate work by the mere declaration of a catalogue. The State charter makes neither the college nor the university—it simply bestows upon teachers a corporate existence and the power to confer degrees. The character of the college and university is in teaching and equipment, in the ability to do what education demands of them ; its real character is to be tested by the scholars it produces. If we merely change our name and add graduate work to our college without at the same time being prepared to do the graduate work which graduate degrees call for, we will find ourselves at the end of this century as we find ourselves somewhat at present : imperfectly developed institutions sometimes not deserving to be colleges, yet, by charter, called universities. Catholics possessing the truth of life and commissioned to develop it in the minds and hearts of the people, we should be the most honest of men in doing the best of work in whatever department we invite people to enter.

What seems to me the practical solution, as also a practical conclusion, is, that we recognize the fact that we cannot, with our present means, maintain several schools equipped to do graduate work capable of competing with non-Catholic institutions. It is the duty of the colleges, out of loyalty to the system and with desire for the best results, to do their best to build up the University, which our Holy Father, in accordance with the wishes of our Hierarchy, has constituted as the head of our educational structure and to which he wishes all schools and colleges affiliated. Listen to what Leo XIII. said to the Bishops of the United States March 7, 1889 : " We exhort you all that you should take care to affiliate with your University, your seminaries, colleges, and other Catholic institutions according to the plan suggested in the constitution in such manner as not to destroy their autonomy." That was Pope Leo's idea of unification. It behooves us to more thor-

oughly equip our colleges and perfect our instruction. The teacher makes the school. Let us feel that the first duty of the college is to be a thorough college, doing the best collegiate work, ready to stand side by side with its non-Catholic competitor, and showing in its graduates the result of a Catholic college system. Its duty is not to reach beyond that which it is competent to do well ; and consequently it should be found encouraging that class of students who seek advanced education along graduate lines to go to the University for it. It has the right to expect that the University should be prepared to enter into competition in graduate work with the best universities in the land. Catholic generosity has built the University primarily for university work in every department of scholarship, and it cannot succeed unless every part of the educational system be loyal to it.

What would be the result of this united effort? First, there would be a strengthening of the entire system, a perfection of our educational scheme, a culmination of the efforts of a century, which would make us absolutely independent in education. Second, there would come from the University to the colleges a body of well-prepared teachers, religious and lay, who, equipped in all that the best universities can give, will be the better prepared to reach excellent work in our collegiate instruction ; they will also be loyal to all the elements that enter into the educational life of the Church. Third, the scholarship thus developed will stand ready to defend the truth against any and all of its enemies, and to meet error based on false science by truth supported by true science. Fourth, there will be the preparation of teachers for the University, that thus we may provide for the future and build up a body of Catholic scholars prepared to stand side by side with the leaders of intellectual thought throughout the country. Fifth, there will come a splendid toning up in Catholic educational ideals, which will be a safeguard of the faith and traditions of Christianity. The layman, the clergyman, and the religious teacher will thus make it possible for the Catholic Church in the United States to send out into the world scholars competent to take first place in the fields of literature, in science, in

professional, and in business life. It will develop the scholarship which, in God's own time, will find itself in scientific and literary magazines, protecting science and literature from error, and showing to the people that the perfect intellectual development is in entire harmony with the doctrines and practices of the Church.

You gentlemen, representatives of the collegiate system, hold the traditions of the hundred years struggle in the educational life of the Church in this country. It has been a tremendous struggle; it has attained marvelous successes. Upon you falls a far-reaching responsibility, as you stand to-day, looking back on the century that has closed and forward to the century that is opening. Shall our Catholic educational system succeed or fail? Shall it obtain but the minimum of results? Shall we be able to resist the oncoming tide of secularized instruction? The answer largely depends upon the work of this association. Every one of our colleges should feel that that responsibility falls upon it, for the work which education demands of it is as important as that demanded from any other part of the system. Loyalty, not merely to our own ideals, to our personal success, but loyalty to the wider and more general principle of the educational life of the Church demands that it mortice itself into the system, that it stand by every part of the system, so that the entire system may stand by it; and thus the unification which results will give us the strongest resistance to the dangers which threaten us. Every college should feel that it exists, not merely for the students, few or many, that pass through its halls, but for the schools below it as also for the university above it, the university existing for it as well as for the whole system.

It is important, and never more important than to-day, that every college teacher should feel a personal interest in the University, and not regard it as something outside his immediate surroundings and more or less indifferent to him and to his interests. The University, indeed, exists for the college teacher, more, perhaps, than for anybody else. He should feel, more than the ordinary Catholic, that the Catholic University of America is the highest expression of the Catholic

educational idea in this country; that it crowns the work of the century just closing, and gives promise to the century just opening; that it is the special pride and glory of the illustrious Pontiff Leo XIII., which he founded as the crown of his pontificate. Its success is the success of Catholic ideals in education; its failure, or even a minimizing of its success, would be to the everlasting reproach of the noble-hearted clergy and laity of the United States. If it fails where will we find circumstances more propitious for it? It will succeed and be the glory of our system if our seminaries and colleges be generous and loyal in its support. It has been loyal to the colleges; gratitude demands that the colleges be loyal to it. To the college teacher it appeals as a friend who stands ready to furnish him with the equipment necessary to make his college work successful. From him it expects the loyalty of a Catholic educator to the Catholic educational ideal. What will be the character of the Catholic College in the twentieth century? Will it hold hard and fast to the one ideal of a classical college, as it has been in the past? Will it respond to the evolutionary touch and follow the German model? Will it reach out to fit for all the demands of our modern life? The classics look to it for salvation and the Catholic college of the future will be their protector. Will it do more? This Conference must answer all these questions. The Catholic college in the twentieth century will be what this association makes it. If it be true to its ideals, it will be the nursery of an instruction upon which to build a sound scholarship. It will lead youth into the fields of classic knowledge, strengthen character by the atmosphere of religion and the positive teaching of Christ's Church. The Catholic college of the century is called to be the refuge of learning as in ages past. It should be a citadel of Christian truth. In it Christianity must find the weapons for defence and preservation. Its mission is a glorious one and we should realize our responsibility. It should be ready to meet the demands of learning in our age. We are here to look into its condition, to prepare for the future, to repair, enlarge, strengthen. We are builders of

the future college. Build it strong in every part, make it perfect in its teachers, force it to do honest work according to true ideals. Make it the best. Be satisfied with nothing else. Faithful to the traditions of the Church which has educated the ages, it will force the world of scholarship to recognize the intellectual life which the Catholic college develops.

THOMAS J. CONATY.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education, by S. S. Laurie, A. M., LL. D. Second Edition revised. New York: Longmans, 1900. 8°, pp. vi + 410.

In this historical retrospect Professor Laurie rises to a very high view-point, viz, the general human, as far as the documents and monuments of antiquity that illustrate education submit themselves to such a philosophical consideration. He treats successively of pre-Christian education among the Hamitic, the Semitic, Uro-Altaic or Turanian, and the Aryan or Indo-European races. In other words, he takes the peoples in whom the leading religious and social characteristics of these races found their highest and most generalized public expression—the ancient Egyptians; the Arabs, Babylonians, Assyrians and Jews; the Chinese; the Hindus; the Medo-Persians; the Greeks and the Romans—and he describes, in outline but suggestively, their governing ideas, moral sentiments and convictions, as far as they were reflected in popular life, character and education. It is needless to say that such a work has a value and interest, at once general and entrancing. In his estimate of the moral standards of Egyptian life, so often over-praised, Professor Laurie, while utilizing the materials of the great modern Egyptologists, does not always follow the extreme views of some excessive admirers—there was always a gulf between the written ideal and actual conduct, precisely as between the writings of Seneca and Marcus Aurelius and the daily life of Rome. The book is replete with judicious principles and with general expositions that are not colored by anti-Christian “tendencies” and “preoccupations.” He thus sounds the keynote of his work (p. 1) in a brief introduction on the “Place of the History of education in Universal History.”

“At what successive periods did these races enter on a progressive civilization; what were the leading intellectual and moral characteristics of each; under what circumstances of climate, soil, and contention with other nascent or dying nations were these native characteristics developed and moulded; and what was the issue of all to the wealth, the life, the thought, the art of humanity?—these are the questions which concern us intimately as the students of the history of education. For the history of the education of a people is not the history of its schools, but the history of its civilization; and its civilization finds its record mainly in its intellectual, moral, and aesthetic products, and only in a subordinate way in its material successes, and its achievements in war.”

Elsewhere (p. 6) he establishes with authority the sober and correct view of the historical evolution of the educational idea. As it is, in one sense, a summary of the work, we quote the page in full :

"In the historical evolution of the educational idea we may note at least three stages. First of all, we have the unpremeditated education of national character and institutions, and of instinctive ideals of personal and community life in contact with definite external conditions, and moulding or being moulded by these. Secondly, we find that the education of the citizen becomes a matter of public concern, and means, often inadequate, are taken by individuals or societies within the State for handing down the national tradition by the agency of the family and the school, and by public institutions and ceremonials; but there is no systematised purpose. Thirdly, education passes out of the hands of irregular agencies, and, from being a merely public and voluntary, becomes a political or State interest. We then have a more or less conscious ideal of national life, determining the organization of educational agencies and reducing these to an elaborate system designed to meet wants of the citizen at every age from infancy to manhood."

In the following paragraph he gives expression to enlightened and practical views of public education that inspire confidence in his general treatment of the manifold phases of its history :

"Education, in the third stage of development, is to a large extent taken out of the hands of the family. But at all stages of educational history (and notwithstanding the action of the State) the family is the chief agency in the education of the young man, and as such it ought never to be superseded. The State is made up of families rather than of individuals; the family is the true moral unit. We are what our fathers have made us, and future generations are what we are even now making our children. There is a continuity in the life of a nation, and the individual, here and now, is a mere transition point from the past to the future. It is in truth the family tradition, along with civil and religious institutions, which chiefly educates. Whatever tradition there may be of opinion and conduct, whatever may be the laws and institutions by which the State protects itself as an organized body, it must rely upon the family to hand down and perpetuate these and to give them the support of the affections and sentiments of our nature. And where, owing to the social necessities of a complex civilization, it is found necessary to set apart a class to help in the work which it is the primary duty of parents to discharge, that class should regard itself as, in every sense, *in loco parentis*; that is to say, the aims, instruments, and methods of the school should always be those of a humane and enlightened parent. The moral and religious influence of the school ought to be, for example, as far as possible, a mere continuation and extension of the family conception of education and not an alien substitute for it. If this be understood and accepted, the deductions from it will be found to be numerous and significant."

Of the decay and failure of pre-Christian education, and the advent upon a "dissolving society" of a higher and purer spirit of life and progress Professor Laurie speaks as follows, with an accent of Christian faith and satisfaction (p. 410):

"Meanwhile a new formative force had entered the world in humble guise, and was steadily making way. It gathered into a unity and round a sacred personality the Stolic humanity and universalism, the Platonic ethical idealism, and the purest con-

ceptions of the Divine which the various races of mankind had painfully, and each only partially, elaborated. God immanent in His own world as a God not only of law but of love—Himself seeking man to raise him to sonship—was an overmastering thought. In the presence of this sublime conception, all so-called culture seemed an impertinence, and all philosophy merely subordinate and contributory. In the light of the great idea, citizenship, culture, oratory, all alike, as aims of education disappear. Citizenship of the city of God now transcends while it comprehends the claims of all earthly cities; culture is the mere adornment of the life of Christ, oratory the mere vehicle for proclaiming the Evangel. An organized scheme of guidance for the individual spirit during its transitory passage to an eternal life arose out of the central thought of Christianity; and this superseded all previous conceptions of the education of man. Errors, unfortunately, were made. Philosophy and the products of human genius were, ere long, held to be essentially hostile to the new life. Many centuries had to elapse before Romano-Hellenic culture was found to be compatible with the Christian aim."

The concept of religion seems to Professor Laurie fundamental. Arrived at the end of his long pilgrimage, he concludes (*ibid*) that the Idea of God is basic for the welfare of all societies, and that apart from it neither man nor city can long sustain themselves, much less make real progress.

"To some it may appear that in the past pages, while I have allowed their full educational value to civil laws, and the social organization of nations, I have yet attached too great an importance to national religious conceptions. I think not. Outside the prosaic and prudential moralities, without which the most elementary society cannot sustain itself for a day, the idea of God and of man as related to Him governs all life, and therefore all education, of the human spirit. It determines all ethics, and consequently all civic and political activity, though it may be silently. For the idea of God is not merely the conception of a world-cause and world-order, but gathers up into itself all the ideal impulses, infinite in their essential character, which place the mind of man on its highest plane of energy—whether in philosophy and art, or in practical politics and the conduct of life. It is the final interpretation of man. That idea, such as it may be from time to time and age to age, lies in the innermost core of consciousness even when its existence is denied. Epicurus has his God as well as the Chinese, and above that idea, which is also the ideal, no man and no nation can rise. The educational administrator has to think of these things if he is not, with the best intentions, to leave his country worse than he found it, and sow the seeds of dissolution. "To govern well," says Milton, "is to train up a nation in true wisdom and virtue, and that which springs from thence, magnanimity (take heed of that); and that which is our beginning, regeneration and happiest end, likeness to God which we call godliness; and this is the true flourishing of a land. Other things to follow, as the shadow does the substance."

In this handy volume are numerous valuable documents of the ancient pre-Christian world, in English translations. From the mass of modern books on the life of the ancients, Professor Laurie often excerpts typical views, judgments, opinions, and legislation. Very precious are the pages (403-408) of the Stoic philosopher, C. Musonius Rufus, "On the question whether men's daughters should be educated similar to their sons,"

and whether "Women ought to study philosophy." Both are answered by Musonius *affirmative et amplius*. It is worth recalling, perhaps, that this martyr to republicanism was held as a quasi-Christian by some second-century apologists. Perhaps in him the Old-Roman stock asserted itself, with its respect for the character and office of woman in the family. Mayhap, too, this temper, this trait, is for something in the remarkable phenomenon of noble Roman ladies accepting Christianity from its first appearance in the City and establishing it very firmly by their wealth, their generosity, and their social position. None could appreciate better than they what a practical healing philosophy was here applied to the ills and the woes of a world lost in its own corruption.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects, by W. Cunningham, D. D. Vol. I, Ancient Times; Vol. II, Mediæval and Modern Times. Cambridge University Press, 1898-1900. 8°, pp. xii + 220; xii + 300.

Modern writers of history tend more and more to seek the secrets of social and political genesis in the institutions that govern and condition the life of humanity at given times and under given circumstances. With some reserves, the thesis is true that the past is forever molding the present through the permanency of transmitted habits, customs, modes of human activity; that there is in society an overlapping of influences, a subterraneous continuity of racial, national, cultural impulses and powers that must never be lost sight of in any attempt at a philosophical exposition and explanation of the present. The life of any century is not unlike a broad lake, fed indeed by visible streams, but fed also by invisible sources that trickle down from the clouds or well up from the deepest level, or percolate from a hundred points through as many crevices and fissures. Dr. Cunningham has undertaken, and with marked success, a logical and connected statement of the economical influences that, from the remotest past, have been contributing toward that highest product of humanity—Western Civilization. In the first volume he deals with Egypt, Judæa, the Phœnicians, Greece—especially its city life and the Alexandrine Expansion—Carthage, Rome, and Constantinople. In any study of the economic life of the ancients, it must be remembered that, for the very familiarity of its phenomena, the contemporary chroniclers never felt the need of describing them. Incidental remarks, rather than clear accounts, are their usual contribution. Nor is it easy to trace the influences of one ancient civilization on another. As a rule, the hypothesis of transmission along known lines of intercourse is the most satisfactory explanation, especially if the respective societies be physically

and mentally related. Even when we have much knowledge on certain economic topics, the actual circumstances are often darkly apprehended, and we are left in doubt. Finally, in the ancient life, before money began to play a dominant rôle, the economical and political sides of life were merged together; e. g., in Egypt; a suitable phraseology is, therefore, not easily found. The physical features of a land—internal and external ease and multiplicity of communication—roads, rivers, harbors, passes; the organized transportation by land or by sea; the obstacles to and the encouragements of social intercourse, conquests, factories, colonies; the actual objects of exchange, products, manufactures, goods; the function of the religious spirit, the temple, the oracle; racial gifts and occasions; the social life itself, agricultural or municipal, expressed in common liberal institutions or repressed by force and evil traditions; the search for a suitable medium of exchange; the interrelation of the public interest and the enterprises of individuals—these are as many points of view, though not all, which Dr. Cunningham utilizes in order to present his readers with a “Gesamtbild” of the economic factors that went to the making of ancient society.

To the Christian the second volume is otherwise interesting. In the introductory Dr. Cunningham recalls some useful preliminary notions: the character of mediæval Christendom as an organized society, the economic borrowings from ancient Rome, the divergent attitude of the Christian mind towards material things as compared with the Greek and Roman mind, the influences of the age of discovery and the earliest traces of an economic “policy,” the age of invention and the application of capital. In the eight succeeding chapters he deals with Christendom, the foundation of its society as represented by the moral authority of the Church and her bishops, the monasteries, the Carolingian State, and the papal power. The transition from natural to money economy, the progress to constitutional government, the mediæval theory of price, the minting of money, revenue—civil and ecclesiastical—the growth of civil life, the commune, fairs, craft-gilds, are outlined with succinctness. The relations of the Christian world with heathens and Moslems are touched on: the crusading spirit, the Vikings, the Hansa, the Caliphate, the opening of the East, with its incidental and accidental discovery of the West. Under the general heading of “Nationalities,” the gradual secularization of the mediæval Christian society, the progress of elements and causes of disruption, the working of physical evils like the Black Death, and a reminiscent and sentimental temper like the Renaissance, the new absolutistic territorial governments, the influence of Roman Law, the French monarchy, the nation as a unit of economic organization, are treated with suitable clearness and brevity. The growth of capital,

and its power in re-shaping or dictating military and political organization, commercial and industrial practice, is a chapter of deep and immediate interest. The great commercial empires, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French and English, receive consideration as the hyphen of transition which made possible the transfer to the soil of the New World of the highest economic life of the Old.

Under the rubric of "The Expansion of Western Civilization," Dr. Cunningham describes the actual age of invention, with its love of industrial stability, the capitalistic organization of agriculture, the disintegration of the old national economic life, the attempt at a rearrangement or reconstruction of the mighty forces only now revealed to man in anything like their reality and possibilities. The tendency of economic forces and their practical control, the temper of pessimism and anarchy, the policies of nationalism or cosmopolitanism, furnish the matter of the concluding chapters of a most thoughtful and opportune book that offers a digest of many modern profound treatises in smooth and understandable language, without passion or *parti pris*, without cynicism or troubling prophetism. Every Catholic who feels the need of a work of orientation along the path of economic history, that is neither too technical nor anti-Christian, nor without recognition of the action and functions of the Creator, Provider, and Preserver, can read these two volumes with profit. We quote with pleasure a paragraph from the conclusion of the work (II. 273):

"Free play for the individual is the distinguishing feature of our present civilization, and is alike its glory and its danger. Hence the problem of the age is that of education, which implies not merely the instructing nor even the disciplining of children, but the forming individuals who are capable of self-discipline, and of thus voluntarily rendering themselves useful and effective members of society. Nor has any sounder scheme of self-discipline been devised than that which is based on truths that were revealed eighteen centuries ago, which rests on the belief in the immortal existence of human personality, and on the desire to use things material as a preparation for a nobler and worthier life when the temporal shall have passed away. There has been no other teaching which alike embraces the dignity of human nature and brings its most exalted hopes to bear directly and immediately on the routine of ordinary life and the control of mundane affairs. The same principles which served to lay the foundations of a healthier civilization when the old seemed to be shattered forever will suffice to strengthen the cohesive forces of society and to guard against utter disintegration and anarchy."

These be golden words, coming from a scholar of eminence, after a minute survey of the economic life of civilized humanity! Would that more works, similar in research and thoroughness, ended up on this note of Christian persuasion, thereby to rouse in youthful hearts the belief in and the yearning for another Christendom, and in more aged ones a

feeling of consolation, of hope that the God of Nations is still guiding mankind through the daedal entanglements of that social life for which He has made us, and through which we must ordinarily reach Him.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Outlines of English Industrial History, by W. Cunningham, D. D., and Ellen A. McArthur. New York: Macmillan, 1898. 8°, pp. xii + 240.

An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England, by Edward P. Cheyney. New York: Macmillan, 1901. 8°, pp. xii + 317.

1. The general method and principles of the preceding work are applied to this volume, "intended for the use of any persons who may be anxious to understand the nature of existing political conditions." Only, the field of observation and descriptions is restricted to England, and the authors watch from this one insular standpoint a very long procession of phenomena that, taken together, may be said to form the raw material for an industrial history of Great Britain. In an age of universalized democracy and industrialism that phase of the world's history cannot be scrutinized too closely. With the language and literature, the commercial and industrial institutions of Great Britain, goes necessarily a large, if undefined, influence on all that widening province of humanity that speaks the English tongue. The industrial life of Great Britain had an infancy and adolescence, of course,—hence an opening chapter on the peculiar contribution of each succeeding class of immigrants—the Angles and Saxons, the Roman Missionaries, the Danes or Northmen, the Normans, the gradual consolidation of all the later influx of foreign artisans. The physical conditions of England play a notable rôle—mines, forests, pasturage, fisheries, likewise the means of communication, the labor of peasant and shepherd and seaman, the peculiar abundance of water power, the insular character, the royal authority and interest. Manor, towns, guilds and companies, king and "nation" have each, and simultaneously, co-operated, not always consciously, to the "Making of England." Like the shuttle in the loom, a certain unity of energy, movable and shifting in its manifestations, is observable beneath the multitudinous details of mediæval English life. This life is affected at all times by the food supply, the state of local industries and the growth of foreign commerce, the theoretical regulation of both by law and "policy," the rôle of "money," scarce or plentiful, on a small or a great scale, in private or public hands. The soil through the Middle Ages is almost the sole source of wealth—hence a chapter on "Agriculture," or a history of the vicissitudes

tudes of the peasant's "field" and the noble's "broadacres." Finally, "Labor and Capital" must combine, driven by a hard necessity on one side and by an inner law of expansion on the other. The facts of this union, as the last two centuries exhibit them, the varying consequences, with their economic and moral shadings, the problems of "machinery," "proletariat," "trade expansion" are naturally suggested to round out the treatment of this dominating factor of all modern English life, nay, henceforth of the world's life, chiefly through and because of England's devotion to material advancement. "The Results of Increased Commercial Intercourse" are the subject of the tenth and last chapter. While the authors recognize that the past can furnish no cut-and-dried formulæ to heal the acknowledged ills, they assert the need of a collective moral action, to enforce public duty in economic matters, through constituted authority, if need be. They say (p. 253) that—

"the sense of duty to native races and to dependent peoples is far stronger than it was a century ago, when national feeling was far more exclusive than it is now, and obscured the sense of humanitarian duties . . . The ordinary religious conscience is more enlightened now; it has come to recognize that we, as a nation, have a real duty towards all those people whom we influence through our commercial relationships."

The writers of these lines are not the first-come in the history of economics, and their Christian convictions are undeniable. Is there not some optimism in these statements that is belied by the cruel and needless warfares carried on at this writing in every "profitable" part of the earth? And what authority shall say in the decades to come what is "plain duty" and genuine morality? And what tribunal shall enforce, under the Equator and on the Veldt and elsewhere among the weak and the ignorant, the dictates of a conscience, public and private, that is forever solicited by opportunity and abundance? We do not deny the existence nor the final efficacy of that efficient judgment-seat known as Public Opinion; but how slow and uncertain, how tolerant in detail, and how unjust on occasions is the utterance of this oracular Juggernaut!

2. The work of Professor Cheyney is "intended as a text-book for college and high-school classes." It covers, in time and content, the same ground as the preceding book, though the arrangement of its material is somewhat different, and the emphasis on cause and effect is not always the same. Numerous illustrations, very pertinent and helpful, are introduced into the text. Each chapter is provided with a brief bibliography that always includes some good general works and a few special monographs. The exposition of the instructive material is always in clear and idiomatic language. It is a pleasure to read these pages of

a yet somewhat technical science and to recognize that their content is well within the grasp of any educated mind. The gist of many exhaustive tractates is collected in these ten chapters that treat successively of the public growth of England to the fourteenth century, the rural life and organization, the town life and organization, the mediæval trade and commerce, the Black Death and Peasant's Rebellion, the breaking up of the mediæval system, the expansion of England, the industrial revolution, the extension of government control, and the extension of voluntary associations—titles that rather conceal than indicate a wealth of useful observation and information. It seems to the writer that a larger place should have been made—indeed, a separate chapter—for certain specific ecclesiastical influences of the English mediæval life, elsewhere indicated by Dr. Cheyney himself, influences that had no little to do with the development of wealth, comfort, and luxury in England. Thus the abbot, the synod, the monastery of Mendicants, the building of churches and religious houses, the interchange of ecclesiastical wealth for objects of use or luxury, the pilgrimage and the patron-day, the minor arts that were almost kept alive by churchmen, the impulse to imitation that soon seized on the richer laity, the control of "money" or the relatively easy gathering of it by ecclesiastics at home and abroad, the functions of monks and nuns in spreading a common art and agriculture, in the demand for woolen cloth, also in the voluntarily assumed charge of the poor that has been in later times the burden and stigma of England. All these, and many other points well known to Dr. Cheyney, might well be developed in one or more chapters with benefit to the sum total of facts, and to the completeness of the picture of mediæval social and industrial life that the gifted professor of the University of Pennsylvania has here laid before us.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

L'Origine de l'Episcopat, Etude sur la fondation de l'Eglise, l'œuvre des Apôtres, et le développement de l'episcopat aux deux premiers siècles, par l'Abbé André Michiels. Louvain, van Linthout, 1900. 8°, pp. x + 428.

Die neueren Forschungen über die Anfänge des Episkopats, von Stanislaus von Dunin-Borkowski, S. J. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1900. 8°, pp. viii + 187.

1. Dr. Michiels obtains his degree from the Theological Faculty of Louvain with a solid dissertation on the origin of the Christian episcopacy. To this thesis he consecrates seven chapters that deal successively with the Gospel texts which establish the foundation of a Church by Jesus Christ, with the first apostolic foundation at Jerusalem, then with

the much-controverted New Testament terms of "presbyteri" and "episcopi" and with the organization of churches by the Apostles outside of Jerusalem. The fifth chapter is devoted to the oldest episcopal catalogues of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. The sixth chapter deals with the Christian episcopate in the second century, and the seventh with the doctrines of Apostolic succession and the divine origin of the episcopacy. A select bibliography accompanies the work. Two tables are added, one containing the names of all known Christian bishops previous to the year A. D. 200, and the other the exact references to all passages cited from the New Testament and from primitive Christian writers. The treatise is one of much erudition, well digested, and presented with considerable literary skill, that makes the reading of it both instructive and entertaining. Dr. Michiels has understood how to draw excellent arguments from such modern discoveries as the "Didaché." The picture he constructs from the scattered and fragmentary materials of the first century of Christianity is that of the monarchic episcopate. His conclusions are amply justified, not only by the continuous tradition of the Church, the unbroken presence and action of the institution itself, but also by the documents of the New Testament and by the valuable Christian literature that soon arose about the inspired text as commentary, explanation, application, and some of which has happily reached us, enough to exhibit the Catholic episcopate in the second century widely established, laying claim to Apostolic descent, to establishment by the Divine Master, to an authority over the faithful that included all the essentials of the actual episcopal government of the Church. Dr. Michiels is acquainted with, and presents fairly, the arguments of the modern school of Tübingen as represented by Rothe, Ritschl, and Harnack. In his pages the busy reader may find a digest of their learned contentions with the replies of the best Catholic criticism. Thus, there is (pp. 301-305) a summary of the discussions concerning the "Presbyter John" as a double of the Beloved Disciple; elsewhere (319-336) an instructive exposition of the historical credibility of the earliest part of the *cata-Bishop* Lightfoot. Indeed, the book is an epitome of the history of the primitive episcopate, and as such ought to be read by every Catholic clergyman. It is distinctively academic in form and executed with logues of the Popes, so severely attacked by Lipsius (whose works we miss in the bibliography), but successfully defended by the Anglican scholar, observance of the best historical methodology, both as regards the citation of authorities, the fulness of the same, the just and moderate appreciation of their value, the degree of stress to be laid on each according to content, provenance, scope and knowledge of author. In this work the professors of the Theological Faculty of Louvain may rightly count a

distinctive gain to the useful series of printed dissertations that the Church owes to their activity, their learning, and their devotion to the ecclesiastical sciences. On another occasion the writer hopes to come back to this good book apropos of the fundamental thesis it treats of, a thesis that is now looming again into sight, and is fraught, as ever, with a manifold practical importance.

2. Father Dunin-Borkowski presents in this valuable brochure something more than a *catalogue raisonné* of the books written, chiefly within the last fifty years, on the origins of the Catholic episcopate. It is in reality a charming sketch of the controversy aroused by Baur and that has come down as a legacy since the publication of the daring thesis that made the fame of the older school of Tübingen. One hundred and fifty authors come before us in this chapter of the literary history of dogma, but not pell-mell; on the contrary they are neatly arranged in battalions that succeed one another, so that the theological reader may obtain, almost at a single sitting, a clear and sufficient historical concept of the noble thesis that has given rise to many of the most learned books of the last or any other century. Germany has furnished, naturally enough, the greater share. Rothe, Ritschl, Reuss, Hilgenfeld, Holtzman, Pfleiderer, Harnack, to take up at hazard some names that represent each a considerable difference of opinion or method, jostle in these pages against Hergenroether, Döllinger, Probst, von Funk, among Catholics. In France the names of Réville, Sabatier, Renan, Havet, de Pressensé, call out those of Duchesne, Batiffol, Jacquier, Douais and others. For England the brilliant and epoch-making, but paradoxical and over-ingenious Oxford lecturer, Edwin Hatch, leads a long phalanx that has been victoriously rebutted by Bishop Lightfoot. Our American contributions are summarized under the name of Dr. MacGiffert; the author might have added others had he scrutinized more closely the periodical literature, wherein, as a rule, this question has been more abundantly discussed than in the conventional octavo. We spare the reader the divisions of these seven meaty and useful chapters. They offer that encyclopædic view or "Rundschau" that our age is so fond of, though it too often does duty for the *penitior scientia* possessed by our predecessors, less attached than we to brilliant generalization and viewiness.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Lehrbuch des Katholischen Kirchenrechts, von Dr. J. B. Sägmüller, Erster Theil, Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1900. 8°, pp. iv + 144.

Dr. Sägmüller, a professor in the Catholic Faculty of Theology at the University of Tübingen, offers us in these pages the first portion of

his "Manual of Canon Law." An introduction to the study of that science takes up the first twenty-two pages, and is valuable especially for its brief treatment of the sciences auxiliary to canon law, and the freshest literature of the subject. Some forty pages are given to the Church, the Church and the State, the Church and other religious societies, the Church and the "Parität-State," the Church separated from the State. Then follow some chapters on the "Sources of the Canon Law." Among the material sources of general canon law are the Law of Nature, Holy Scripture, Tradition, General Councils, the Pope, the Roman Curia, etc. The material sources of special canon law are the bishop, particular synods, autonomous bodies (chapters, orders, congregations, etc.), civil law, concordats, etc. A chapter is here inserted on the object, obligation, and interpretation of canon law, on privilege and dispensation. Most useful are the forty pages (103-144) that the author devotes to the description of the historical sources of canon law, the title, character, genesis of the oldest collections and the gradual formation of the present "Corpus Juris Canonici."

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

In the Beginning (Les Origines), by J. Guibert, S. S. Translated from the French by G. S. Whitmarsh. New York: Benziger, 1901. Pp. xiv + 379.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Whitmarsh for having made accessible to English readers this valuable work. The author, a member of the Society of St. Sulpice, is at present superior of the Institut Catholique of Paris. It is the fruit of his earlier studies, when he was professor of natural sciences at Issy, that he now presents to the public. The task which he has undertaken is to discuss in the light of sound faith and sound science the chief problems that confront the Catholic apologist in the field of the natural sciences—the origin of the universe, the origin of life, the origin of the living species, and in particular of man, the unity and antiquity of the human race, the condition of primitive man. The book thus covers practically the same ground as the "Apologie Scientifique" of Duilhé de Saint-Projet, but does it in a more satisfactory manner.

In treating these interesting questions the author has followed a method commendable for its good sense and security. As he tells us in his preface, he has kept before his mind three principles of procedure: first, to give a fair and impartial exposition of rival systems, so as to do full justice to the claims of each; second, to state clearly and unreservedly what belongs to the domain of established truth; third, to leave questions open that have not yet received a decisive solution.

An examination of the contents shows that the author has steadfastly adhered to these principles. In his treatment of the various subjects under consideration he wins the confidence of the reader by his candid presentation of the arguments pro and con, by his accurate and up-to-date knowledge of scientific results and theories, by his calmness of tone, and by his freedom from narrow theological bias. This is particularly true of his two excellent chapters on the origin of brute species and of man. Here the mistakes committed by many would-be apologists are carefully avoided. He does not confound the question of the origin of species with that of the origin of life. He carefully distinguishes the hypothesis of evolutionism from the special theories, such as Darwinism, which aim at explaining the evolutionary process. He is thus able to see what many others have overlooked, namely, that a refutation of Darwinism does not carry with it the overthrow of evolutionism. Neither does he take the narrow and precipitate view that evolutionism in every form is to be combatted as irreconcilable with Catholic faith. Though not yet demonstrated, it is a reasonable hypothesis having a strong scientific presumption in its favor, and hence it should be left an open question till the progress of biological science places more decisive evidence at our disposal.

The copious bibliography at the end of every chapter is judiciously selected and will prove of great service to the inquiring student.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Il Primo Sanguine Cristiano, Padre Giovanni Semeria. Rome: Pustet, 1901. 8°, pp. xi + 403.

There is not an uninteresting page or a useless consideration in these sixteen discourses of Father Semeria before the "Scuola Superiore di Religione" in Genoa. The theme is the elevated one of the Christian Persecutions from Nero to Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 67-180). Father Semeria presents in eloquent language the vicissitudes of this most wonderful drama. His method is a strictly critical one, yet not solely critical. He uses the best results of De Rossi, Aubé, Allard and Le Blant—which means that his account of this phase of the persecutions is at once Christian in tone and sympathy and scientific in character. Interspersed throughout are high and moving reflexions that bind the past to the present, and make those centuries of blood and iron once more instructive for Christian youth. The psychological value of the story of the Martyrs was once great in the Church of God—it has colored profoundly all ecclesiastical history from Constantine to Charlemagne. That it is capable of again rousing faith and self-sacrifice, of stirring the deepest and holiest impulses of human nature, is clear

from these pages of Father Semeria. The author of "*Venticinque anni di Storia del Cristianesimo Nascente*" and of the "*Cristianesimo di Boezio-rivendicato*" is one of the distinguished scholars of modern Italy. We welcome the proximate publication of his lectures on the "*Dogma, Gerarchia e Culto nella Chiesa primitiva.*"

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

St. Basil the Great on Greek Literature, with notes and vocabulary by Edward R. Maloney. American Book Company. New York: 1901. 8°, pp. 86.

Professor Maloney has edited for us in this little volume a most handy and useful introduction and guide to the rich literature of the Greeks. He has taken the text from Migne's reprint, and the grammar notes from Hadley, Allen, Yenni, and Goodwin. A brief introduction places the student in touch with the person, time, and calling of the great Cappadocian, who was at once a saintly Christian bishop and a Greek writer of the highest distinction. He was, therefore, the very man to furnish Christian youth with a criterion and an antidote in the reading of a literature that contains the noblest and the most shameful utterances of the human mind—a gallery where coarse Priapus is niched beside Olympian Jove. Legendary and historical allusions are briefly explained; a sufficient vocabulary is added. The type is a very pleasing and artistic specimen of the printer's art, bold, clear, and neat. The Church has long since adopted this discourse of Saint Basil as a perfect little isagogics into the mental world where reign Homer and Sophocles, Plato and Demosthenes. It has been edited many times for the Christian youth of every land. We hope that this useful presentation of it will make its way into the hands of all our studious American youth in colleges, convents, academies and high schools.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Athanasiana.—*Litterar-und dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchungen* von Alfred Stülcken. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1899. Pp. 150.

This work is a contribution to the critical edition of early Christian literature begun some years since at Berlin under the direction and supervision of Professor Harnack. It endeavors to fasten upon Athanasius the heretical view of Apollinaris that Christ assumed a human body, but not a human soul. The method followed in reaching this conclusion is twofold, critical and exegetical. In the critical part of the volume, the two books "*contra Apollinarem*," in which Athanasius indubitably professes his belief in the integrity of Christ's assumed human nature, as well as five other works commonly attributed to Athanasius and enforc-

ing the same profession of belief, are rejected as spurious. The reasons advanced for the spuriousness of these works are not very convincing, and at times, decidedly strained. Once these works are ruled out of consideration as non-Athanasian, the author sets about reconstructing the true christology of Athanasius from a study of the remaining sources. This study forms the second part of the volume.

Despite the questionable rejection of the books above mentioned, the author has failed to make out a case. His main contention rests on the frequently repeated phrase of Athanasius, that "the Word was made Flesh," the author insisting that "flesh" is not equivalent, in Athanasian terminology, to complete human nature, but is to be taken strictly in the sense of body as opposed to soul or spirit.

The use of the phrase in this restricted sense the author endeavors to establish by painstaking compilation and contrast of cross-references and by rigorous application of critical method. But the fact of the matter is that in three admittedly genuine documents (Lib. III *Contra Arianos*, 30; *Ad Serap.*, II, 7; *Ad Epict.*, 8), Athanasius explains his employment of this phrase of St. John's as the Scriptural equivalent for "the Word was made Man," i. e., assumed a complete human nature. Stülcken tries to reduce these passages to insignificance by the gratuitous claim that Athanasius is only treating the incidental question of the right reading of St. John, and not at all explaining his own terminology. But Athanasius is certainly qualified to be his own interpreter, and the plain nature of the context cannot be made to yield to a preconceived hypothesis. Stülcken realizes the difficulty of explaining away these passages.

The German rationalist school draws a sharp line between Johannine and Synoptic Christianity. It conceives historical Christianity as a muddled medley of opinions, heresies, and orthodoxies,—a set of relative opinions struggling for the mastery. Two main tendencies gradually become discernible, the tendency to conceive Christ as an exalted human creature, and the tendency to regard Him as a heavenly spirit come in the flesh for man's redemption. Insensibly these two counter thought-currents were brought together and thus the divinity of Christ is due to a foreign scientific element forced upon the simplicity of the earlier Gospel narrative, which portrays the Christ as an historical and sociological human personage. Time had to be allowed for these divergent views to harden and crystallize into dogmas. Once established that Athanasius believed the Word to have assumed a soulless human body, the rapid and arbitrary imposition of dogmas on the faithful by the Council of Nice would be plain for all folk to see.

To make Athanasius play the desired part which this rationalistic hypothesis assigns him, Stülcken endeavors to reconstruct the true

mental attitude of the great Alexandrian. But despite the mass of erudite detail which his work represents, it must be confessed on purely critical grounds that he has failed to establish his thesis, even within the easy limits which he set himself. He simply goes over ground already broken by Baur, Draeseke, Hoss, and Harnack, and although more conservative in his estimates than these predecessors were, he pursues the same question-begging method of reading out of the Athanasian text the requirements of his hypothesis.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Tractatus de Deo Trino.—Auctore Laurentio Janssens, S. T. D., O. S. B. Herder: Freiburg, 1900. Pp. 870.

The Benedictine spirit is revealed in the learned pages of this volume. The author follows the topical order of St. Thomas, supplementing it with a wealth of illustration and detail that shows not only depth of thought and breadth of view, but extensive collateral reading judiciously condensed and made pertinent. A complete bibliography and a profusion of foot-notes and references add to the scientific value of the work.

The revelations of the Trinity in the Old Testament and in the New, together with the ante-nicene, post-nicene, and mediæval explanations of the doctrine, give historical setting to the treatise. Modern Trinitarian ideas of philosophers and theosophists are reviewed and rejected, and an abundant list of sources, original and critical, is added. The author criticizes and refutes without acrimony the strange speculations of Professor Schell concerning the divine self-causality; and in doing so shows the ease and grace of a master in dealing with an intricate and snarly metaphysical problem.

In recounting the Scriptural arguments for the Trinity, the author discusses the celebrated comma of St. John—"Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelis," etc. After a learned review of the codices, and of the theological and traditional arguments, the author reverentially suspends judgment as to the authenticity of the text, while admitting that its credibility is still an open scientific question, notwithstanding the disciplinary decree of January 13, 1897 (p. 139, note 3).

In discussing the differences between the static view of Being adopted by St. Thomas, and the dynamic view accepted by St. Bonaventure, which betimes led these two friends to opposite statements in their explanations of the divine processions, the author seems to regard the discrepancies as verbal merely. In this he disagrees with De Régnon, who plainly acknowledges the irreducibility of the starting-points which St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure assumed. Perhaps it is because the author regards the phraseology of these two thinkers as interchangeable that at times he

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seems to cross the Greek and Latin views indiscriminately, and to solve the difficulties in one point of view by the elucidations that belong to the other. For methodical reasons, they might have been exposed separately, and then reduced to unity, if, indeed, such reduction be feasible.

The volume, besides being an excellent sample of the typographer's art, is clearly, cogently and critically written. The exposition is profound and learned, and the style pleasing, which is a proof of the versatility of the Rector of St. Anselm's in Urbe. We hope to see the companion volumes in due course of time. Meanwhile we recommend this volume to all professors of theology, who will find it invaluable as a work of reference, charming as a study, and helpful as a guide to exposition.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

The Divine Plan of the Church; Where Realized and Where Not. By Rev. John MacLaughlin. Benziger Brothers, New York, 1901; pp. 325.

The Beauty of Christian Dogma. By Rev. Jules Souben. Benziger Brothers, New York, 1900; pp. 247.

Soyons Apôtres! L'Abbé J. Tissier. Retaux, Paris, 1901; pp. 485.

Des Grâces d'Oraison. R. P. Aug. Poulain, S. J. Retaux, Paris, 1901; pp. 413.

Come, Holy Ghost! Rev. A. A. Lambing, LL.D. Herder, St. Louis; pp. 438.

Tractatus de Sacramentis Extremæ Unctionis et Ordinis ad usum alumnorum Seminarii archiepiscopalis Mechlinensis.

Tractatus de Virtutibus in genere, de Virtutibus theologicis, de Virtutibus cardinalibus ad usum, etc.; pp. 176 and 520. H. Des-sain. Mechlin, 1900.

The Divinity of Christ. Translated from the French of Mgr. Bou-gaud by O. L. Currie. William H. Young & Co., New York, 1901; pp. 160.

1. A plain, straightforward volume on the divine plan of the Church, taking a fresh view of an ever-important subject. After discussing in detail the various elements disclosed by Holy Writ as entering into the constitution of the Church, the author proceeds to show the absence of these elements in the Church of England. The question of infallibility is well presented as the corollary of "an unintermittent Divine teaching presence." Without infallibility Revelation sinks to the level of a mere calculus of competing probabilities and the New Dispensation fails to crown the development indicated in the Old. The claims of the Church of England are tested by the nature and extent of the Apostolic commission and by an examination of the chief characteristics of her constitu-

tion. The work is intended for the general reader and makes no attempt at literary embellishment.

2. The consistency of Christian Truth is an argument in its favor. The fact that the dogmas of the Church mutually complement and support one another has long appealed to minds not otherwise prepossessed with the Christian scheme of Revealed Truth. To analyze from an aesthetic and schematic viewpoint each one of the dogmas of Christianity; to show the harmony, grandeur, sublimity, and relevance of the respective doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, Redemption, Justification, Sacraments, the Church, Grace, the Virtues, and the Four Last Things, is to present the magnificent synthesis of Thought which is the Catholic's heritage. To see truth in its relations is quite another thing from gazing upon a single dogma in isolation. The strength and beauty of a united whole fail to impress the minds of those whose horizon is narrowed to the minutiae of detail. In union there is strength.

Such a synthetic presentation of speculative and practical Christian truth is to be found in a volume of 250 pages which appeared last year. Its nature is suggestive rather than profound; and partakes of the raciness of the French original. It shows breadth of view and artistic appreciation.

3. An eloquent appeal to the clergy and laity of France is made in a volume just published. Its author endeavors to arouse in the minds and hearts of the French people a lively sense of their mission and opportunities.

4. To one familiar with Mystical Theology and the analyses it has furnished of certain spiritual dispositions, a volume entitled "*Grâces d'Oraison*" will be of interest. The different degrees of prayer and of mystic union with God, together with the questions of Revelations, Visions, and Quietism, are analyzed and exposed. A complete bibliography of mystical writers is appended. The psychology of the Mystics, despite the Pantheistic extravagances into which it not infrequently fell, cannot be dismissed with a shrug. The Bampton Lectures of last year dealt with it more or less sympathetically and are now published (Inge, *Christian Mysticism*). The preponderance of the subjective in Mysticism makes it a matter of difficulty to classify its phenomena and to make due allowance for the personal equation. Yet as a rule the Mystics were men and women of practical and executive ability, and not, as is generally supposed, benevolent dreamers. The volume may be read with more spiritual profit than that which is derived from mere intellectual curiosity. A good definition of Mysticism as a movement is a desideratum which the author does not supply.

5. Rev. Dr. Lambing has compiled from many sources for the use of clergy and faithful a number of striking passages concerning the nature and operations of the Holy Ghost. The purpose of the volume is to bring about more generally a special devotion to the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity. Devotion to the Holy Ghost, Comforter and Indweller, is of prime importance and should be revived in the hearts of the faithful. By calling attention away from secondary and more or less mechanical devotions to the central mystery of Divine Love in the Sacrament of the Altar the Eucharistic League has accomplished much good. By introducing more generally this companion devotion to the Holy Ghost, it will crown its best spiritual endeavors.

6. Two volumes forming part of a series intended primarily for the students of Mechlin Seminary. The catechetical method is followed. The treatment is both dogmatic and moral, although the latter predominates. A succinct exposition of the doctrinal facts and principles underlying each question is accompanied by supplementary references to standard theological literature and followed by detailed discussion of the practical issues involved. Marginal summaries also accompany the text, enabling the student to grasp with ease the divisions, distinctions, and results of each topic. Moot points are briefly reviewed and criticized; the encyclicals pertinent to the questions under consideration are analyzed and practically applied; while the decisions of the Congregations are similarly dealt with throughout. Though there is nothing very new either in the method of exposition or in the matter exposed, the eminently practical and orderly character of these two volumes, especially the treatise on the Virtues, will not fail to appeal to students.

7. Mgr. Bongaud's rare faculty of combining literary grace with searching analysis, as in "*Le Christianisme et les temps présents*," is aptly illustrated in a little volume of 159 pages which has just been published. The translation embraces only the author's statement of his argument, its premises, and its conclusions. It is divided into ten chapters, which deal in order with the uniqueness of Christ in physiognomy, miraculous power, holiness, authoritative teaching, claims, prophecies, and influence on the continuity of history and the regeneration of humankind. Formerly, the unique perfection of the Savior's Humanity was lost sight of in the splendors of His Divinity. The method of treatment was dogmatic and analytic, dealing with ideas, and with facts only in so far as they illustrated ideas. This method the author deemed higher, but less winning, and less suited to an age, such as the present, given over to facts of observation. From Christ's unique Humanity to His Divinity seemed, on this account, a more impressive mode of procedure.

The author keeps throughout within the bounds of human observation and human reason, and has not to stop to make good the links in his chain of argument. It is a readable and suggestive little volume. The character of Christ which it portrays cannot fail to impress all readers; and the critical insight into modern destructive methods which it affords the thoughtful reader is a real advantage. It clears away the rubbish of preconceptions and allows facts to speak to the fair-minded.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome. Part I. The Christian Monuments of Rome; Part II. The Liturgy in Rome; Part III. Monasticism in Rome; Part IV. Ecclesiastical Rome. In three volumes. 8°, xi + 547, viii + 355, 356. Index, pp. 18. New York: Macmillan, 1900.

It is a far cry from the "Itineraria" and the "Mirabilia" of the Middle Ages to these elaborate volumes that treat at great length of the churches and worship of the city of Rome, the orders and communities that form so notable a feature of its life, and the actual administration of the Catholic religion at the site of its headship. The authors of these three volumes have consecrated nearly thirteen hundred closely printed octavo pages to the charming thesis, and it is safe to say that there does not exist in any language a guide-book to Ecclesiastical Rome more orderly and full than the one that lies before us. All the principal churches and catacombs are described, often at great length. The public offices of the Church are presented in considerable detail. The government, local and general, of the Bishop of Rome is set forth with commendable attention to accuracy and completeness. It may be said that the work is throughout remarkable for that sympathy and historic sense which are indispensable to any writer who approaches so old and complex a creation as the See of Peter. When it is added that the writers confess their extensive obligations to local Catholic antiquarians and liturgists of Rome, and that the studies and views of Mgr. Duchesne are quite freely adopted throughout, it is clear that the book is entitled to a respectful consideration, perhaps to the office of a vade-mecum.

As Rome the City became once an epitome of human culture, so the Roman Church has become through the ages an epitome of Christianity. Whoever, therefore, undertakes to write an account of her life, her institutions, her administration, must of a necessity touch on a multitude of points of doctrine and discipline, must accept or reject certain teachings and practices of that Church. The writers of this manual are to be credited with a good sense of candor and equity—whatever is local and peculiar to Rome has an attraction for them. They have suffered the

unspeakable charm of the City, the strongest of all earthly fascinations, since nowhere else can the temporal and religious vicissitudes of humanity be contemplated with a philosophic and reminiscent spirit among the monuments of the past, amid the teachers of the living. The City of Rome is, without doubt, the most eloquent spot on earth.

That it can never be properly described, except by a Catholic pen, is very clear from these volumes. When we come to read them carefully, many inaccurate statements, incorrect appreciations, sweeping generalizations from insufficient data, stare at us only too frequently. The whole introduction of fifty pages (Part IV) dealing with the origins of Monasticism, is replete with such material. Thus (Part III, p. 5), the theory of asceticism being an "adopted" child of the Christian Church, an imitation or adaptation of Oriental ascetic communities of a pagan type, has been exploded by Catholic writers like Dom Butler and Ladeuze—it is a daring but false hypothesis such as Weingarten loved to propose. The judgment (ib., p. 8) on the Monasticism of the fifth century is highly exaggerated, as any one may see by the perusal of Dom Besse's documentary work on the Monks of the Orient before Chalcedon (451). No correct historian,—and these volumes pretend to a scientific character,—will use such vulgar language as disfigures page 13 of the third part—it must not be forgotten that Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Basil of Caesarea were monks, and that there were many contemporaries of their ilk and habit of life throughout the Orient of the fifth century. Venantius Fortunatus (III, p. 26) was neither a bishop nor a monk, only a priest and convent chaplain. An "Abbat" of St. Albans (III, 45) in the time of Innocent III. is unintelligible—the peculiar form "abbat" is reserved to monastic superiors of the sixth to the tenth centuries. It will be news to those who read the original documents of the reign of Charlemagne that it was his policy to diminish the ecclesiastical authority (III, 45). On the same page, in speaking of the supervision of monastic orders, no notice is taken of the episcopal authority in the form of "potestas delegata" from the Pope, which is considerable.

Nothing could be farther from the truth than to say (II, 174) that the mediæval priesthood was a "caste." No office was more open and accessible, more subject to criticism, than the mediæval priesthood. It had many privileges, indeed, but it also bore a multitude of burdens to which the imperfect social authority of the time was unequal. It is false to say (II, 302) that the most primitive Christian communities refused to forgive certain mortal sins—the writers here accept the Montanist heresies for the Church doctrine, and seem unconscious that the contrary is taught in the "Shepherd" of Hermas, written in the early part of the second century at the latest. It is not true (IV, 556)

that all the "Fathers" of the Church are "Doctors" except in a very broad pedagogical sense, nor is it true (*ibid*) that the origins of the conciliar institution are to be found in the regulation of the Easter festival—the bishops of the second century met also for reasons of doctrine and discipline. On the same page Constantine is ridiculously put forth as lending "inerrancy" to the decrees of Nicaea, quite as true as what the authors assert elsewhere (II, 297) about his presidency of the Council. Similarly, on the same page (III, 556), Infallibility is very insufficiently described. There are several inaccuracies in the account of the Jesuits (IV, 297–303). At the same time it is well to recognize the sympathetic treatment of the institute of the Sisters of Charity (III, 249–252). It is not true that any reputable Catholic theologians hold (IV, 333) that the Pope could cease to be bishop of Rome and yet govern the whole Church. His residence is not necessary at Rome, but his title to the headship of the Church lies in his valid succession to the first bishop of Rome, Saint Peter, whose presence at Rome is admitted and defended (I, 45–55). It is a grave historical error, also a calumny, to insinuate (IV, 300) that payment for confession was usual in the Catholic Church from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries—the prohibitions of such an act do not necessarily mean more than local or sporadic transgressions. More than once John the Deacon (III, 334, 531) is assigned to the sixth century. He is, indeed, the pleasing biographer of Gregory the Great (590–604), but he lived in the ninth century. The whole treatment of the institution of celibacy (IV, 533) is unclear and misleading—here the Montanist opponents of a married clergy cease to represent for our writers the regular tradition of the primitive Church. Where did the writers learn that Synesius (IV, 534) absolutely refused to give up his wife before taking the See of Ptolemais? It is not the opinion of the learned author of the article on "Synesius" in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (IV, 775). The Theodosian Code was surely not the first to permit the holding of bequeathed property as an endowment. Constantine, after his victory over Maxentius, recognized the Christian communities as capable of inheriting and holding, and his endowment of the churches with lands and revenues is notorious. To speak of the earlier lives in the *Liber Pontificalis* (IV, 560) as "forgeries" is totally to misconstrue the nature and growth of these ancient materials. Unhistoric and legendary elements there may be in such brief documents, but the reproach of conscious deception is to be made only with proofs in hand. The distinguished editor of the *Liber Pontificalis* has never formulated such a conclusion in the admirable introduction and notes that accompany his edition.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst, von Franz Xaver Kraus. (Vol. II, Part II.) Renaissance und Neuzeit. (132 Illustrations.) Erste Hälfte, Freiburg im Breisgan. Herder: 1900. Large 8°, pp. 282.

Within these thirteen chapters Professor Kraus continues his History of Christian Art down to the completed victory of the principles, temper and manner of the Renaissance. It is no ordinary tale that is related in the text and the illustrations of this volume that worthily sustains the fame of Dr. Kraus as a literary historian of ecclesiastical art. Every student of the history of the Christian Church knows how naturally in every age its life has found an expression in objects of art that in turn react upon the members of Christian society. Here are begotten those subtle and far-reaching influences that come to the surface one day in theology, literature, popular habits and customs, to affect even the stern and religious discipline of Christian life itself. Here are the signs and the criteria by which we may recognize, and from a cosmic viewpoint—in part at least—the ebb and flow of the tide of genuine faith and sincere piety. The period treated of in this volume is the “Trecento” and the “Quattrocento,” terms of exact meaning for the historians of art, even if they do not lend themselves to mathematical fixity. The scene is Italy—Pisa, Siena, Florence, the plain of Tuscany, the valleys and uplands of Umbria, with Rome in the remote distance. Art and artists are yet ancillary to religion. The sculpture of the Pisani, the frescoes of an Orcagna, the painted theology of Siena and its pious territory, the gems of Umbrian workshops for devotional art, the ingenious and instructive allegorism of the mendicant monasteries and the female cloisters culminating in the Capella Spagnola of Santa Maria Novella, the museum-like Campo Santo of Pisa, the astounding architectural genius of Quattrocento Florence incarnate in Brunelleschi, the gradual victory of the western ideal from Giotto to Masaccio, the glories of Pisan and Florentine sculpture of the pre-Renaissance and the early Renaissance, the last, almost tearful, protests of a mystic Catholicism against the ecclesiastical consecration of a brilliant but earthly and corrupting realism—the sad-eyed Pilgrim-Christ of Fra Angelico against the temptress “Primavera” of Botticelli—these are some of the themes that Professor Kraus handles with great technical skill, and a sure erudition slowly hived up through many decades of teaching, observation, and effective criticism. His treatment of these ages of transition is eminently historical, yet it breathes a genuine unworldly, unearthly mediæval spirit—the only criterion of Christian art, that ever drifts into an un-Christian region in the measure in which it abandons the mental and moral convictions that conditioned the development of a Fra Angelico and the

nameless men whose pious brushes once made every village chapel in Umbria a painted canticle to Jesus, the Blessed Mother, and the Saints.

A lengthy introduction serves as a guide for the average reader. It sums up the latest and best justified views of the origins and temper of the Renaissance in its first period, before the fatal virus of its paganism had inoculated most of artistic and literary Italy. Dr. Kraus has views and judgments of his own that are here frankly expressed. The succeeding pages are the proof and commentary. We hope to return to this classical work when it lies before us as a finished whole.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Political Theories of the Middle Age, by Dr. Otto Gierke, translated, with Introduction, by Frederic William Maitland, LL. D., D. C. L. Cambridge: University Press, 1900. 8°, pp. lxxx + 197.

The limited space of a book notice allows only a general outline of the nature of this typically erudite "German book." It is a translation of a very small portion of Dr. Gierke's "*Deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*," being the section entitled "*Die Publicistischen Lehren des Mittelalters*." Its ten chapters treat of the following questions: The evolution of political theory under the diverse influences of ancient philosophy and law, mediæval theology, local custom; Macrocosm and microcosm, *i. e.*, the relation of the whole of society to its parts and vice versa from the mediæval viewpoint; unity in Church and State, wherein are discussed the warring positions of parties in both, evolved by the length of the contest between the papacy and the empire; the idea of organization, *i. e.*, of society as an organism; the idea of monarchy, its derivation from God, its consequent relations with the *plenitudo potestatis* of the papacy; the idea of popular sovereignty, its conflicts and combinations with the ruler's sovereignty, first in the temporal sphere, second, analogous developments of the idea as applied to the government of the Church, somewhat painfully brought ont by the conciliar movement; the idea of representation; the idea of personality, *i. e.*, of justice or legal personality applied to the Church and State or to minor corporations; the relation of the state to the law, natural and positive; the beginnings of the modern state, *i. e.*, those elements in mediæval doctrine that led up to the modern idea of the state. One half of the book is devoted to notes that elucidate the text of the cited authorities, a long list of which, both ancient and modern, is given. The mere enumeration of the titles of the chapters and the fact that the translation has been undertaken by so eminent a legal historian as Mr. Maitland are a warrant that the work is important, even for those who are not disposed to accept Dr. Gierke's views on faith. English-speaking readers in

general must find it interesting, accustomed as they are to look on mediæval thought as mere idle speculation of the logicians; as if political theories did not then, as now, agitate men's minds and lay the foundations for much of those political blessings that we now enjoy, or think we do. To a close observer of the development of government in the Catholic Church some portions will be, not merely interesting, but absorbing. They may even be instructive, though at the sacrifice of some preconceptions.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

The Mediæval Empire, by Herbert Fisher. New York: Macmillan, 1898. 2 vols., 8°, pp. viii + 350; vii + 308.

Since Mr. Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire," English readers have looked forward with eagerness to a writer who would combine the former's brilliancy with more method and clearness in the treatment of this subject. The present book partially fulfills their expectations. It is clearer in a way, because it treats the subject more from a topical point of view. Moreover, it is carefully indexed in the summary of contents of chapters. But with this exception there seems to be little, if any, improvement upon the first-mentioned work. The style is not so even, is occasionally obscure. The author's attention is perhaps unduly concentrated upon affairs in Germany, as if the whole Christian mediæval world had not been seriously affected by the theory of the Empire. The theory itself is not presented with any more succinctness than by Mr. Bryce; lastly, the author has not followed the latter in his discussion of the gradual dying out of the Empire in times not mediæval—his view being thus less extensive both as to territory and time. In tone he is generally fair, though we fail to see the connection between the political theory of the papacy spoken of on (ii. 57), and the fanaticism that might have suggested the assassination of Queen Elizabeth, the actual killing of Henry III, and the Spanish outlawry of and consequent doing away with the rebellious William the Silent. Again, the papacy, as usual, is credited with too much diplomacy in its first creation of and subsequent conflicts with the Empire. It would be more objective to allow some room for the operation of other elements such as the gradual development of historical causes working silently and irresistibly, not to mention the divine assistance which even a Protestant might admit to have been, to some extent, vouchsafed to the then sole visible representative of Christ on earth.

In general, while we hold the work for an improvement upon that of Mr. Bryce, it is far from exhausting the subject. The Mediæval Empire yet awaits its classic historian.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

L'Abbaye de Saint Martial de Limoges, Etude historique, économique, et archéologique, précédée de recherches nouvelles sur la vie du Saint, par Charles de Lasteyrie, ancien élève de l'Ecole des Chartes. Paris: 1901, Picard. 4°, pp. xviii + 509, with nine plates.

One of the educational glories of France, that any nation may well envy her, is the Ecole des Chartes at Paris. In this nursery are trained the men who, later on, take charge of those local or provincial archives that come down partly from the civil régime of the past, partly from ecclesiastical or private collections that drifted into national possession, chiefly during the Revolution. For several decades this school has carried on a learned publication of great utility, the "Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes." It also encourages the production of scientific studies on the monuments and institutions of mediæval France, and prepares the writers who now yearly endow the national literature with rare masterpieces of critical research and tasteful bookmaking. Such a volume lies before us. The Abbey of Limoges, between the Garonne and the Loire, was one of the great ecclesiastical centres of Merovingian Gaul, and, as such, became the nucleus of all development within a large radius, whether social or political, religious or artistic. Its vicissitudes, from the sixth century, particularly from the ninth, are here traced by M. de Lasteyrie, with the guidance, particularly, of those local chronicles kept in every ancient abbey. The external history of the abbey, or the succession of its abbots, is traced down to the French Revolution—it had ceased to be a Benedictine foundation in 1535, and was then transformed into a Collegial, with all the usual consequences for these venerable institutions. In four highly instructive and picturesque chapters we are vouchsafed an insight into the internal management of the abbey in those old days when Kings of France and Dukes of Aquitaine vied in honoring Saint Martial and rejoiced to sleep beneath his hospitable roof. The administration of its temporalities, the character and fate of its architectural monuments, and the description of its outlying priories, churches, farms, and villas complete the fascinating story of one of Europe's chief sanctuaries. As we turn over the pages of the abbey's chronicles, there stare at us all the familiar scenes and institutions of mediæval life, especially its interesting feudalism, with the hundred problems, quarrels, questions, unequal developments, that arose from this dominating condition. Conflicts of abbot and bishop, of monks and canons, of the abbey and vicomtes of the Duke of Aquitaine; conflicts between the abbot and his retainers clamoring for municipal rights and independence—the city-movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with all its disturbance of the earlier feudal basis; conflicts between the kings of England and the kings of France

for suzerainty, with the desolation of the abbey properties, like to that which Father Denifle has so interestingly depicted in his great work on the ruins that the Hundred Years' War brought to the Church of France; conflicts between the monks themselves at almost every abbatial election—no wonder that in time the holy spirit of Benedict ceased to assert itself in a community caught up perpetually in worldly turmoil and living in the very heart of the market-place of Limoges, that had gradually formed itself right under the abbey walls, and was, indeed, a possession of the abbey itself, to which every huckster paid some small tribute, and at whose door every beggar received back his share of the same. This book is palpitating with mediæval life. There are in it all the solemn gravity and all the childish simplicity of the mediæval world, all its keen insight into certain sides and phases of life, and all its comic Merry-Andrewism, all its tolerance of wretched abuses and its readiness to be hacked in pieces for a trifle of precedence or revenue.

M. de Lasteyrie discusses in a lengthy introductory chapter the evidence for the apostolic origin of the Church of Limoges, and comes to the conclusion that Saint Martial came to Gaul from Rome, not in the time of Saint Peter, but about the middle of the third century. Thus he ranges himself with Mgr. Duchesne and the Bollandist De Smedt against the Abbé Arbellot and Mgr. Bellet. The latter's arguments for the high antiquity of certain literary sources drawn from the appearance in them of a rhythmic prose, supposedly unknown from the seventh to the eleventh century, are not convincing for M. de Lasteyrie. This phenomenon, he thinks, with Father de Smedt, cannot therefore be relied on to carry back to the sixth century the oldest extant life of Saint Martial. Much less reliance can be placed on the "legends" known as the Aurelian and Valerian, those current under the names of Saint Fronto, Saint Ursinus, and Saint Amadour—we are dealing here with borrowings, imitations, transformations, that do not go beyond the beginning of the ninth century, a period when the fame of Saint Martial of Limoges was already great throughout Carlovingian Gaul. It was, no doubt, an inheritance of Merovingian times, although original trustworthy documents and monuments of the latter time are all but wanting for the story of the abbey and its relations to the social and ecclesiastical life of that epoch.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Roman Canon Law in the Church of England. Six Essays by Frederic William Maitland, M. A., LL. D., Downing Professor of the Laws of England in the University of Cambridge. London: Methuen, 1898. 8°, pp. 184.

While engaged on the chapter concerning marriage in the History of English Law, which Professor Maitland has published in coöperation with

Sir Frederic Pollock, he felt himself compelled to look more closely into the history of ecclesiastical jurisprudence in England. Did the Roman Canon Law have an authoritative status in pre-Reformation England, or did it have merely an academic and consultative character, the ecclesiastical judges being bound primarily and solely by the customary ecclesiastical law of the kingdom? This is the opinion usually held by Anglicans, and set down in the Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission (1883, vol. I, p. xviii) over the signatures of learned and illustrious men. As his researches went on, Professor Maitland found himself attributing to the Roman Canon Law an authority over the doings of the English Ecclesiastical Courts such as it is not commonly supposed to have wielded. The results of his studies have been gathered in this book, notably in the three essays, entitled "William Lyndwood," "Church, State, and Decretals," "William of Drogheda (died c. 1245), and the Universal Ordinary." William Lyndwood was the principal official of the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1430, in which year he finished his gloss on the provincial constitutions of that see, to which, as is known, were attached legatine authority and powers. This "Provinciale" we have in an Oxford edition of 1679, together with the "Legatine Constitutions," and a commentary on the same by John of Ayton, a very learned canonist of a century earlier (fl. 1333-1348). Lyndwood, says Professor Maitland, is "the first man in England whose opinion we should wish to have about any question touching the value of the ecclesiastical law that was being administered in England (p. 5)." Lyndwood and Ayton represent the canonical science of England at its height. In their writings Professor Maitland finds no passages in which either "denies, disputes, or even debates the binding force of any decretal" (p. 9). The temporal power may not suffer the enforcement of certain portions of the canon law—but that is another matter. "Here we are speaking of the law which our courts Christian applied whenever the temporal power left them free to hear and decide a cause, and I have looked in vain for any suggestion that an English judge or advocate ever called in question the statutory power of a text that was contained in any of the three Papal law books (*ibid.*)," *i. e.*, the legislation of Gregory IX, Boniface VIII, and John XXII. Each of these books, he says elsewhere (p. 3) was a statute book deriving its force from the Pope who published it, and who, being Pope, was competent to ordain binding statutes for the Catholic Church and every part thereof, at all events within those spacious limits that were set even to papal power by the "*Jus Divinum et Naturale.*" These great canonists of England use habitually the continental and extremely papal canonical literature; in their works as in the catalogues of the mediæval libraries of England the names of English

canonists are absent. Ayton, indeed, grumbles and moans over papal exactions, and threatens a "*judicium terribilius*" for deeds that seem to "*volvère quadrata rotundis*." Professor Maitland adds judiciously that "a moan, even when fortified by an allusion to the fate that awaits the wicked, is not a legal principle, and we here see our English canonist citing a decretal which in the boldest language claims that a plenary power of disposing of every church belongs to the Roman Pontiff." Reference is here made to c. 2, in Sexto 3, 4, an act of Clement IV (1265). Of Lyndwood the author of this work says (p. 4) that he was making a text-book for beginners. Those to whom he addressed his work were "*simpliciter literati et pauca intelligentes*." While he was not bound to call their attention to the conflict going on in those days of Constance and Basle, it ought to be a little strange that he makes no mention of any "treasured tradition of Anglican independence," but hurries past the momentous controversy of the age with more than a hint that the papal was the better opinion. If in this question on which the whole future of the Church was hanging, Lyndwood was on the Pope's side, there can be little doubt "that he was prepared to treat the decretals as statute law." In the rest of this scholarly essay the language and spirit of Lyndwood are closely examined, with the result that this work of the best English canonist of the fifteenth century is filled with "a stark papalism which leaves little enough room for local custom and absolutely no room for any liberties of the Anglican Church which can be upheld against the law-giving power of the Pope." Professor Maitland wisely remarks that one must not judge a school by a single book, even though it be almost the only work that the school produces, nor a long age by one critical moment. Perhaps all English canonists were not as papally-minded; perhaps it was "the time of all times at which orthodox Englishmen were papally minded." Perhaps, too, there is allowance to be made, he thinks, for some extravagance of language in the mouth of a theorist looking for that juristic desideratum, an all-competent sovereign. There is an insinuation that these English papal canonists know that any troublesome bulls "will be impounded by a secular power for whose doings they are not responsible" (p. 49). Nevertheless, the conclusions of this essay, borne out by the other two cited above, is of such value from a purely scientific and impartial view-point that we give it here a deserved publicity:

"What we ought to study if we would know our ecclesiastical courts is the method and scheme of Lyndwood's book, more especially the theory that it applies when it determines the comparative authority of provincial constitutions and papal decretals. Here, if anywhere, we ought to see professional tradition of the court over which Lyndwood presides; for questions about the relation borne to each other by the various sources of law must be frequently taking concrete shapes and crying

aloud for decision. Of course it is just possible that even here Lyndwood is innovating, that he is attacking the general opinion of his predecessors or turning it inside out. If so, he is accomplishing his revolutionary design in a marvelously cool and dispassionate manner. The *Provinciale* does not wear the air of a book that is assailing old beliefs or a rooted course of practice. Nothing could be less polemical. It seems even to shirk the burning points of current controversy. Lyndwood is writing an elementary law book for beginners, and it is not in any argumentative disquisitions about legislative power, but in the practical solution of everyday problems that his absolute submission to the *ius papale* becomes patent. He does not set himself to demonstrate in solemn form that an English council cannot derogate even from a legatine constitution; it does not seem to enter his head that anyone will dispute so self-evident a proposition."

One may apply to the general thesis of Anglican ecclesiastical independence of Rome at any period before the Reformation what Professor Maitland says of the work of Lyndwood (p. 50) that it "casts a heavy burden of proof upon the theory which would paint our English ecclesiastical courts selecting the decretals that they will accept, or which would ascribe to the three papal law-books great authority, indeed, but no statutory force. Has that burden of proof ever been borne? Has an attempt been made to bear it?" Apropos of the statement (p. 44) that "the English Church was, in the eyes of its own judges, a dependent fragment whose laws had been imposed upon it from without," the reader could find no better or more profound historico-legal commentary than the chapters of Dr. Gierke's famous "*Deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*," lately translated by Professor Maitland under the title "*Political Theories of the Middle Ages*" (Cambridge University Press, 1900, pp. 197). It furnishes us a true picture of the mediæval world that is drawn after its own great thinkers, those canonists and popes, who were its real creators and administrators. Even in an English translation the perusal of this fragment from the as yet unfinished work of Gierke is a work of labor. But the task is well repaid by the philosophical, connected, and architectonic view of the mediæval public life that we gain thereby. Whoever has grasped these firm and large outlines can never be guilty of maintaining as historical theses that do violence to all the accepted principles and the governing spirit of the Middle Ages.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485, by Charles Gross, Ph. D. New York: Longmans, 1900. 8°, pp. xx + 618.

To those who have been confined to the *Introduction to the Study of English History* by Gardiner and Mullinger, even in its third edition (1894), this work comes as a surprise and a pleasure, for the fulness and

minuteness of its research, the breadth of the fields it covers, and the general "modernity" of its bibliographical style. The author—for it is more than a gigantic compilation—rightly deploras (p. 5) the need of such works of orientation for English history as Dahlmann, Waitz and Wattenbach have given to Germany, Monod to France. He has removed the reproach by the creation of a book that will be long a vade-mecum for the student of the political, constitutional, legal, social, and economic history of mediæval England. Dr. Gross deals chiefly with the printed materials; such works as Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue* (1862-71) and Bird's *Guide to the Principal Classes of Documents in the Public Record Office* (Rolls Series, 2d ed., 1896) are yet good and serviceable for the manuscript material. The work is devoted in the main to the mediæval history of England. Scotland has been omitted, for the reason that in the Middle Ages its government and institutions were foreign to those of England. She receives consideration, however, as far as she influences the course of English history (p. vi). No doubt, for the same reason the bibliography is very restricted in works of an Anglo-Irish character. In the work of Dr. Gross there are two desirable improvements on the foreign works of this class—one is that it comprises only select lists of books, worthless and obsolete treatises being omitted; the other is that it gives "some account of the contents and a brief estimate of the value of the books named" (pp. v-vi). When we say that three thousand three hundred and twenty-four titles are here printed in less than six hundred pages, and that they are all controllable by an elaborate index of more than sixty pages, the reader will see that he is dealing with a bibliographical help of the highest rank—one that is henceforth indispensable to every library that pretends to be helpful to students of the mediæval history of England. Dr. Gross has not confined his selections to books and pamphlets alone. To-day much of the most precious material for history appears in periodical publications, general and special—many teachers of history have no leisure to write large books—hence, from this journalistic literature numerous papers have been collected and assigned a niche and a critical note. Similarly, many books, papers, and pamphlets published on the Continent have been recorded. This task is in many ways so difficult, and the previous labors so few, that every student will at once understand the modest but unnecessary admission (p. vii) of the possibility of errors of judgment in selecting from a remote and heterogeneous mass of writings those calculated to serve the interests of science, arouse curiosity, direct the seeker, and clear the field for new work or new treatment of old themes.

The work is divided into four parts. In the first or introductory part, historical method and bibliography in general are treated of—the chief

bibliographical helps, periodical publications, sciences and studies auxiliary to history, the public or governmental collections, the collections of private societies, local historical journals, and the like. In the second part the author describes the publications—catalogues, records, reports, calendars—of the principal public repositories of manuscripts in England, likewise those gotten out by societies or privately edited. The same part includes, under a separate rubric, a lengthy list of the printed works of modern writers based on these archival materials and dealing with the problems and questions for which they are the best authorities now available. To these useful indications is added a bibliography of works dealing with the Keltic, Roman and Germanic Origins of England. Parts third and fourth are devoted respectively to the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods, and in each the original sources are separated from the modern literature, a detail of method that Dr. Gross deplores from a scientific view-point, but which greatly relieves all beginners in historical studies, and many others who seek a quick but sure orientation.

Dr. Gross deserves the thanks of the historical fraternity the world over, very particularly for the instructive prefaces and notes that accompany his book lists. Many will differ from him, now on this point and now on that. No one will deny him the credit of useful and accurate industry. The book is "the outcome of an annual course of lectures on the sources and literature of English history delivered at Harvard University from 1890 to 1899."

It is a pleasure to come across, frequently enough, the names of excellent Catholic masters of research in mediæval English history, like Dom Gasquet, Father Joseph Stevenson, S. J., Mr. Edmund Bishop, Mr. William Bliss, and others. Their work is second to nothing that is mentioned in these pages. Likewise it is a pleasure to record, from the justly laudatory notice of this work by Prof. Edward P. Cheyney in the "*American Historical Review*" (April, 1901, p. 543), some phrases that illustrate the special value of this work for Catholic historical students. Speaking of the classification, description and convenient arrangement of the mediæval chroniclers of England in the works of Dr. Gross, he says (the italics are ours):

"In official records of Parliament, of the various law-courts, of government offices, in taxation-rolls, city, manorial, episcopal and monastic records, wills, correspondence, poetry, and in still other forms, we have the raw material from which a true knowledge of the past will eventually be constructed. In such documents, the personal bias of the writer is at a minimum, for he had usually no ulterior motive, no intention of doing anything more than to preserve a record; ignorance of the facts cannot be charged against the compilers, for they describe what passed under their very eyes, or expressed what was in their own thoughts. Above all this kind of records extends into all the minute facts of daily life, all the realities of the nor-

mal life of the world of the time, all the personal doings of actual men and women. It is doubtful whether any one has ever realized the immense mass of this contemporary material for the history of civilization in England in the mediæval centuries, until it has been thus listed and described. For instance, of one kind of documents, those concerning the Church, in one class, the bishops' registers, there are some thirteen from nine different dioceses here recorded as being in print. *The whole history of the Church has been surrounded with such a mist of ancient and modern polemics that if one turns to the reading of these plain records of the every-day routine, the normal, strenuous and most beneficent work of a mediæval bishop, it is like breathing a new and fresher air.*

"Similarly town and gild record, church-wardens' accounts, household books, and others, which even the author after all his fullness of classification is obliged to group as "miscellaneous," exist in numbers that few special students even have known of, except indeed as in this particular class they were already indicated in Dr. Gross's earlier bibliography. It is in the extraction of titles of such works from the "Transactions" of local societies in which they have been buried, their discovery among the issues from obscure provincial publishing houses, and the brief indications of their contents, that some of the most original, most laborious, and most useful of Dr. Gross's work has been done."

The work of Dr. Gross is deserving of a permanent place in every institution of learning. It can only arouse the curiosity of students, satisfy the demands of teachers, and incite all to a thorough study of English mediæval life. Thereby must fall many of the anti-Catholic prejudices that the peculiar course of the Reformation in England inaugurated, and that work yet on a wide scale, to the detriment of religion and history, justice and charity.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Dawn of Modern Geography—a History of Exploration and Geographical Science from the Conversion of the Roman Empire to A. D. 900, with an account of the achievements and writings of the early Christian, Arab, and Chinese travellers and students—by C. Raymond Bearsley, M. A., F. R. G. S., with reproductions of the principal maps of the time. London: John Murray, 1897. 8°, pp. xiv + 538.

Under this somewhat dry title is massed an amount of curious information concerning the state of exploration and geographical science from the Conversion of the Roman Empire to A. D. 900. It would be interesting to almost any reader; it is fascinating to the mediæval student. Geography as geography may be dull, but the ideas of past peoples concerning geography possess a psychological value of more interest to the antiquarian than even their ideas concerning theology or politics. These ideas the author has ably and sympathetically exposed, chiefly in Chapter VI. Then, too, the wayfaring life of past times is extensively depicted in the preceding chapters that treat

of pilgrimages and travel, commercial and missionary. In fact, there does not seem to be a dull page in the whole book, unless we except the notes on manuscripts of the principal texts and editions of same. Even the student of theology or philosophy will find it a valuable addition to his library, for geography, as here depicted in its infancy, was deeply affected by the prevailing philosophical and theological opinions. "It was impressed," says the author, "by the idea that science was governed by revelation, and so, confronting various passages of Scripture with the discoveries and assertions of pagan geographers and astronomers, it subjected the latter as far as possible to the tests of an infallible Word and by an infallible Church directed by that Word. . . . Cosmas, the monk, by a daring literalism and a still more daring mysticism in his interpretation of Bible texts, constructed a complete religious system of geography." And yet the author is sympathetic even to such crude science because "if our pilgrim-travellers and Bible scientists have thoughts which seem to us unthinkable, or fancies that repel us as absurd, it will not do for us to utterly despise men who, in a true sense, were making their times ready for greater things" (p. 51). This has the true historic ring. In spite of the severe criticism aimed at the attainments of the writer in Oriental philosophy, it is a pleasure to wander carelessly through the pages of this curious book, it is gratifying to know that the author is preparing (or, perhaps, has already finished) another work, that shall bring the subject down to the close of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance period.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

The International Geography, by Seventy Authors, with 488 illustrations. Edited by Hugh Robert Mill, D.Sc. New York: Appleton, 1900. 8°, pp. 1088.

The publishers of this excellent work on geography have solved the problem of producing a manual for teachers and advanced students that shall present the latest results of scientific study and exploration in a terse and clear style and in a form at once compact and handy. Europe, Asia, Australasia and Polynesia, North America, Central and South America, Africa, the Polar Regions, are described in turn. The skill and experience of seventy specialists in geographical science have been called on with success. The result is that each country stands before us outlined with exactness in all its main features—coasts, surface, geology, climate, flora, fauna, anthropology, history, including the latest territorial changes, when of the largest order. Nearly five hundred illustrations adorn its pages—sketch-maps, diagrams of many kinds, flags, ensigns, arms, standards, city-sites, population, areas, railway systems,

and the like. To each country are allotted tables of statistics, general, local, municipal, covering the population, products, and square mileage. A list of standard books is appended to the description of each nation or country. A preliminary treatise on "The Principles of Geography" is of incalculable utility to every cultured reader. It deals in 120 pages with the principles and progress of geography as a science, with mathematical geography, maps and map-reading, the plan of the earth, land-forms, their nature and origin, the ocean, the atmosphere and climate, the distribution of living creatures, the distribution of mankind, political and applied geography. Each chapter is from the pen of an approved authority. At the same time a remarkable unity pervades the entire treatment.

Such a work lightens and enlivens for every teacher and reader of history and geography the often arduous task of exact location and description. It brings the latest and best material within reach of every one. Being neat and portable in form, its content is most easily consulted. An index, both lengthy and scientifically constructed, facilitates the use of the work, that ought to be among the literary helps at the disposition of every teacher and advanced student of history, geography, travel, politics, and economics.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

A Memorial Atlas of Ireland, showing provinces, counties, baronies, parishes, etc., in thirty-three large double-page maps, compiled and drawn from reliable official data and latest information. Indexed. Philadelphia: L. J. Richards & Co., 1901. Large folio.

The best maps ever drawn of Ireland were those of the Ordnance Survey, that John O'Donovan used for the notes to his edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and on which we believe he was himself employed. These maps are now before us, with such improvements as the research and skill of fifty years have added. Certainly, no finer atlas of the Emerald Isle was ever published. Each county is given a very large double-page map; the coloring is clear and firm; the place-names picked out with distinctness. No European land offers a harder task to the map-maker than this island with its very ancient civilization that is intimately connected with every natural object in view, or in some way has set its stamp on every foot of the land. Imagination, history, legend, war and love, religion, both pagan and Christian, have been here operative for thousands years. One glance at the enormous index of place-names reveals the antiquity and complexity of the popular life of Ireland. This index, after the drawing and coloring of the maps, is the chief feature of the work. By a simple, but full and accurate system of cross references, it is easy to find the smallest townland or cross-roads in Ireland. The civil and religious antiquities are equally well indicated; on

each map are printed the necessary marks of identification. Moreover, in an upper corner of each county map is given, for comparison, a reduced map of the whole island. Every Catholic institution that shelters children of the Irish race, or that is controlled by teachers of the same descent, ought to have this elegant atlas. Its moderate price puts it within reach of families that easily waste in a year for trashy books, which too often vilipend their religion and their blood, the sum asked for this worthy and useful work that would be an heirloom for centuries, and in which each succeeding generation could learn of the block from which they were hewn, "the hole of the pit from which they were dug."

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

L'Allemagne Nouvelle et ses Historiens, par Antoine Galland, professeur d'histoire à l'Ecole Polytechnique Suisse. Paris: Alcan, 1900. 8°, pp. 255.

It is not unnatural that a Swiss teacher should offer us a work condemnatory throughout of the political spirit and the practical politics that have dictated so much of the historical writing of Germans during this century. Not the deepening of the Old-German views of life and society, not the creation of an independent fatherland with liberal constitutional rights, but the elevation of the Prussian monarchy to a sole dominant status, the depression and humiliation of the Hapsburg, and the creation in the heart of Europe of an absolute despotism based on a commonalty thoroughly armed, exercised, and moving at the beck of one man—this has been the outcome of the century that began for modern Germany amid the wreckage of Jena. To uplift and strengthen Prussia, to round out her territory, and compel the acceptance of her hegemony, to make Brandenburg the model and microcosm of all things German from Schaffhausen to Bremen, was the task that the Steins, the Fichtes, and the Hegels undertook, that has been mightily served by a great university—Berlin—and still more mightily by the school of historians which has arisen upon the cornerstone laid down by Stein and Pertz in the "*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*." Niebuhr, von Ranke, Mommsen, von Sybel, von Treitschke, are so many names that rush at once to the lips. Not all these men, or their disciples, wrote German history—their themes were of the most varied kind. Von Ranke ranged over the beginnings of modern Europe, while the incomparable Mommsen has treated magisterially of every phase of antique Græco-Roman life. His science and his skill are little less than wizard-like. Not all these writers agreed as to the ideal political forms of a Germany reconstructed on the basis of the hegemony and exemplarism of Prussia. Mommsen, for example, has never ceased to be a democrat; almost alone he withstood Bismarck

at his apogee. Yet they all agree in the doctrine of success as the criterion of public morality. In his *History of Rome* Mommsen traced out the past career and the future duties of Prussia under the thin disguise of the vicissitudes of the Eternal City's growth. His portrait of Julius Cæsar as the necessary complement of a necessary evolution will live while any page of German literature is read, a proof how near democracy lies to imperialism. In Carlyle this leonine philosophy of

"He shall take who hath the power,
And he shall keep who can,"

has been only too brilliantly expounded. Mohammed, Frederick the Great, are emblems of right that hews its way to the front with sword and shield. The Franco-Prussian war could not fail to develop still more this historical apology for Prussia's mission and the means habitually taken to advance it. Von Sybel and von Treitschke are no unworthy disciples of the German school of history that dominates the literature of the nineteenth century. In the hands of these extraordinary men history may not have been the Ciceronian "*lux veritatis*;" it certainly was a "*magistra vitæ*" for the German people, and remains a "*testis temporum*" for posterity. To a free and peaceful people, of equal rank, rights and opportunities, believers in a genuine and simple democracy, this school of history ought not to furnish the criteria for judging the past—such a people must naturally look with other eyes on the world-shaping, world-shattering men called Cæsar, Hannibal, Alexander. These names spell ambition, greed, excess—roots of misery to all humankind, even though the bitterness be long repressed. For his timely work M. Galland will have the thanks of those who sympathize with Freeman's views of Mommsen's philosophy and who believe in a moral law set by God in the hearts of men, made known more clearly by His revelation, not dependent on the approval that the success of the moment, and were that moment as long as the rule of the Cæsars, can give to the acts and purposes of men.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

A Treasury of Irish Poetry in the English Tongue, edited by Stopford A. Brooke and T. W. Rolleston. New York: Macmillan, 1900. 8°, pp. xliii + 578.

With this volume Messrs. Brooke and Rolleston accomplish one of the cherished plans of the Irish Literary Society that has its seat in London, whence it proposes to make known to the world through the medium of the English tongue the extraordinary wealth of literary material that lies stored up in the tongue, the heart, and the history of Ireland, always the head of Kelticism. There can be no question as to

the sympathy, the refined taste, the acquired literary authority of the men who have produced this beautiful anthology of poetry written in English by Irishmen. Mr. Rolleston is known as a genuine and scholarly poet, while Mr. Brooke has given many proofs, notably in his "*History of Early English Poetry*," of a catholic and erndite discernment; no one better than he has laid bare the rich, sweet springs of Irish models and influences from which the first poetry of England arose.

We have had other anthologies in the course of a century—Miss Brooks, James Hardiman, Dr. Sigerson, William Sharp, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, Alfred Williams, Halliday Sparling, Edward Hayes, to mention a few haphazard, have collected and illnstrated the best gems of Irish poetry in English. Such works are not put out of use by this collection; it follows its own principle of selection and lays considerable stress on the latest production of the Irish muse, some two hundred and fifty pages being given to the poets of the last two or three decades—about one-half of the volume. As it begins with '98, the book is typical and representative of the various phases of Irish poetry in this century.

The biographical notes for each author, though brief, are written with a modern sense for accurate bibliography, and owe much to Mr. D. J. O'Donoghue's "*Dictionary of Irish Poetry*." Especially attractive is Mr. Lionel Johnson's account of Mangan, quite a little "*predella*" to the tablean of that rarest of artists in words. From Mr. Brooke's introduction I quote (p. xxxi) the following paragraph:

"The religious poets of Ireland are almost altogether Catholic, and it is well for poetry that it is so. The Church of England poetry is weighted away from art by doctrinal and ecclesiastical formula, by a diluted scepticism of the supernatural, and by a distrust and reprobation of enthusiasm which has its source in the temper of the universities—a temper which Trinity College has inadequately imitated. As to the Nonconformists, they cherish a most sorrowful want of imagination. Beauty has no temple among their shrines, and it seems a pity that so large and influential a body of citizens should be incapable of producing any fine religious poetry. In Ireland, however, the immense store of poetic subjects which belong to the Catholic Church, the living faith in the legendary world of the Saints and in miracle, the multitude of thoughts, stories, and passions which cluster round the vast antiquity of the Church of Rome, and the poetic image of the young and virgin beauty of the persecuted Church of Ireland, present to the poetic religious temper beautiful and innumerable motives for song and create incessant emotion round them. I wonder there is not more religious poetry written in Ireland and in the Irish spirit."

Elsewhere (p. xxxiii), with a kindly but true touch, he puts his finger on what is at once a strength and a weakness in the work of Irish poets—a strength, for thence come their fervor and hopefulness; a weakness, for until this passion be stilled, their genius will not wander from the aim that it has kept in view, come weal come woe, since the loss of Ireland's independence.

"Amid the varied aims of these poets there is one element common to them all. It is their Nationalism. That nationalism has on the whole ceased to be aggressive against England, and that is all the better. Poetry has no national feuds. But the nationalism which, in love of Ireland, sets itself in poetry towards the steady evolution of the Celtic nature, and the full representation of its varied elements, that is vital in these poets and is vital to the life, growth, and flowering of Irish poetry. Irish poetry, if it is to be a power in literature, must be as Irish as English poetry is English. It has now gained what of old it wanted. It has gained art. Its work is no longer the work of amateurs. Its manner and melody are its own. Its matter is not yet as great as it ought to be for the creation of poetry of the higher ranges. The subject-matter of mankind has been only lightly or lyrically treated in Ireland, or only in such side issues as mysticism or religion or reanimation of the past. A graver, larger, and more impassioned treatment of those weighty human issues which live in the present, but are universal in the nature of man, is necessary before Irish poetry can reach its maturity."

Mr. Brooke disclaims any attempt to claim for the poems in this anthology a lofty place in literature. He is speaking of classical finish and artistic perfection as established in the canons of general literature, not of the content, the passion and emotion, the poetic vision and the general equipment of the man of song.

"The river of Irish poetry in the English language is yet in its youth. It rose a hundred years ago in the far-off hills, and wrought its turbulent way down the channeled gorge it carved for its stream out of its own mountains. Other streams have joined it, bearing with them various waters; and it has only just now issued from the hills, and begun to flow in quieter and lovelier lands, glancing from ripple to pool and from pool to ripple, among woods and meadows, happy, and making its lovers happy. It is the youngest child of the Goddess Poesy. Let it be judged as a youth. In time, if it remain true to its country's spirit, the stream that has just emerged from the mountain torrent will become a noble river."

In these disheartening days of a popular literature that is at once multitudinous and meretricious, a work like that of Messrs. Brooke and Rolleston is one to be added to every family library. In conjunction with Dr. Douglas Hyde's "History of Gaelic Literature" (Longmans, New York), it will furnish delightful reading that can only instruct and elevate.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Politics and the Moral Law. By Gustav Ruemelin. Translated from the German by Rudolf Tumbo, Jr., Ph. D. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by F. W. Holls, D. C. L. Macmillan, Co., New York, 8°, 1901, pp 125.

The text of this little volume consists of an address delivered by Prof. Ruemelin in his capacity of Chancellor of the University of Tübingen. At the outset he asks whether political activities are subject to the moral law or follow laws of their own. The answer is that the State is not bound by the law of love, since self-interest may impel it to

become an aggressor; nor by the law of justice, except in an abstract way. No concrete rights are valid against the State, for rights are created by the State. May crime be committed to further political ends? Not always; but when the higher interests of the State are at stake acts may be performed that would ordinarily be regarded as immoral. Hence political actions are not bound by the moral law of private life, but possess an independent principle of conduct which is superior to every commandment—namely, the preservation of the State.

A considerable portion of the author's reasoning is based on a confusion of moral principles with their application. Certainly the State may do some things that individuals may not do, *e. g.* inflict capital punishment, yet both are bound by the same general code of morals. It is the concrete rules applying the general law that differ. Again, if the State—any State—may disregard the moral law in dealing with other States, every other State must be accorded the same privilege. Hence arises either an irreconcilable conflict of rights or a condition in which the word rights has no meaning, and the only law that applies is the law of the strongest. And if individual rights cease when they run counter to the welfare of the State, what becomes of the ultimate purpose of the State? The State exists only for the sake of the individuals composing it—to protect the rights and interests of all its members. It is not an end unto itself, much less an end justifying every means. If the preservation of the State is the supreme end to which all laws, purposes, and persons must be subordinated, then the most tyrannical of States have a right to go unmolested. In truth, Prof. Ruemelin's doctrine is very much akin to that code of political ethics that the writings of Lasson and Von Hartmann have done so much to make popular. Its last word is that in matters of statecraft might and cunning make right.

JOHN A. RYAN.

La Prophétie des Papes, attribuée à S. Malachie, Etude Critique par l'Abbé Joseph Maitre. Paris: Lethielleux. 8°, 1900, pp. xii + 861.

In this bulky octavo the famous prophecy of the great bishop of Down and Connor (d. 1148) is treated from the view-point of authenticity and authority. It is compared with the Apocalypse, that principal monument of Christian prophecy. Objections to the authority and authenticity of the Irish saint's prophecy are discussed on the basis of the author's system and principles. The last three chapters deal with the end of the world, and the objections made to its proximity on

scientific, philosophical, and theological grounds. Finally, the New Testament prophecies of the end of the world are discussed at length.

There is much repetition and diffusion of treatment in this work. It could only gain in interest and serviceableness by a vigorous condensation, and the adoption of a much simpler order of the materials. It abounds in curious ecclesiastical erudition, and maugre the curious theses, is the work of a sincere and priestly pen. The school-bred historian cannot accept the basic principle of the Abbé Maitre, viz, that the authenticity of a work like the curious prophecy of Saint Malachy is to be settled by its acquired authority. Our author does not add one element of real solidity to the discussion—for him as for its opponents, the Prophecy of Malachy first appears in the last decade of the sixteenth century in the "*Lignum Vitæ*" of Arnold de Wion (1595). The manuscript of de Wion has never been seen, nor does any reference to such a manuscript exist in the previous writers. An author of the eighteenth century is cited by Maitre, who says that he saw an old manuscript of the prophecy in a monastery of Rimini, but investigation leaves his statement an unsupported one. The fulfillment of these short and shrouded formulæ would be no proof of Malachian authorship,—but we cannot accept the often-strained and over-ingenuous applications of their Pythian context made by our author to the popes of the last three centuries. Here the field is open to the most daring "internal criticism." Each student of the formulæ may read into them what he likes. Correct historical logic demands that we should first learn by whom and when a writing was prepared, before we give our assent to its content. Simple questions of capacity to know and honesty of intention are connected with this principle. In his desire to escape this just demand, we cannot see that the Abbé Maitre has established any degree of divine authority for the revelation that has gone, for over three hundred years, under the name and ægis of Saint Malachy. Nevertheless, he has produced a deeply interesting book, in which are made accessible the views and arguments of nearly all who have written on the prophecy since it was published. The lengthy *raisonnée* bibliography (pp. 46-141) alone makes the work indispensable to the student of ecclesiastical "*Curiosities of Literature*." Scattered throughout the work are excursions and paragraphs of much utility for the study of apocalyptic writings. Indeed, the whole work is a resumé of the spirit, temper, and conclusions of a certain school of writers, principally French and German, concerning the approaching dissolution of the world. Have they made their thesis any surer than it was when Gregory the Great delivered the homilies that we read for the last thirteen centuries, and in which are accurately enunciated the "*signa temporum*" that proclaim the crack of doom?

And if these signs, as stated in every century, were to be placed in parallel columns, would they not be alarmingly like one another? It still remains true: "Non est vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta quae posuit Pater in potestate sua" (Acts I, 7). One more remark: We miss in the bibliography the important pages that O'Curry consecrated to the "Prophecies" of Irish Saints, in his "Manuscript Materials for Irish History" (Dublin, reprint, 1872).

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

William Shakspeare, Poet, Dramatist, and Man, by Hamilton Wright Mabie, with one hundred illustrations, including nine full pages in photogravure. New York: Macmillan, 1900. 8°, pp. —.

When one finds an *édition de luxe* like Mr. Mabie's "William Shakespeare" there arises the question whether too much may not have been sacrificed to make merely an agreeable and timely book. The works of Sydney Lee and George Brandes, which have recently appeared, are well supplemented by Mr. Mabie's, and the best of both,—in the popular sense,—will be found in it. Mr. Mabie is neither so dogmatic as Sydney Lee nor so speculative as George Brandes; he does not interpret Shakspeare from his own inner consciousness, but relies entirely on the internal interest of the great dramatist's plays and the results deduced from the consideration of his surroundings. So far there has been written no better introduction to the study of Shakspeare than this. Mr. Mabie may fail to receive credit for the erudition he possesses because he writes so well and because he does not encumber his pages with foot notes. He is as far from hysterical adoration as he is from that modern superiority which exhausts itself in trying to show that Shakspeare must have studied law, travelled in Italy, and surreptitiously acquired a college education. The glow, the color, the sympathy of Mr. Mabie's book endear it to the hearts of those who have longed for an oasis in the desert of minute Shakspearean analysis. It is a volume of over four hundred pages, yet, to quote Marlowe, who is admirably characterized by Mr. Mabie in a few lines, it may truly said to be—

"Infinite riches in a little room."

Mr. Mabie's power of compression, accompanied by an equal gift of seeming not to compress, is marvellous.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

L'Année Liturgique, par le R. P. Dom Prosper Guéranger, Abbé de Solesmes, *Le Temps après la Pentecôte*, vol. VI. Paris: Oudin, 1901. 8°, pp. 499.

With this sixth volume of the continuation, the great work of Dom Guéranger is brought to a finish. Begun sixty years ago by one of the most remarkable ecclesiastics of France, the five hundred thousand volumes that have in that time been published are in themselves a proof of the profound interest that Catholics have taken in it and of the solid serviceableness of the enterprise. The present volume does not differ from its predecessors. Following the ecclesiastical calendar, it gives the offices of the Church in French translation, accompanied by a commentary that is at once pious, learned, and moving. This work of the illustrious Benedictine of Solesmes has been a notable influence in the renaissance of Catholicism in the nineteenth century. The English translation ought to be in every community and would be an ornament to any library.

Marie Louise de Jésus, Première Supérieure de la Congrégation de la Sagesse, par le R. P. Texier. Paris: Oudin, 1901. 8°, pp. 326.

In these pages Father Texier offers in a more modern form the life of Marie Louise Trichet (1684-1759), a saintly woman of the eighteenth century, foundress of the Daughters of Wisdom (*Filles de la Sagesse*), an organization for charitable purposes that has outlived the storms of the Revolution, and today counts more than five thousand members in some four hundred and fourteen houses. The story of her trials and virtues is the usual one of such pious foundresses, and is well brought out in this volume that replaces two older lives less suitable to present needs. The work is at the same time an illustration of the influence wielded by that remarkable man known as the Blessed Grignon de Montfort, whose disciple she was, and from whom she received the name she bears in the history of charity.

L'Année de l'Eglise 1900 (Troisième Année) par Ch. Egremont. Paris: Lecoffre, 1901. 8°, pp. 511.

For the third time we welcome this useful index of the principal ecclesiastical events of the Catholic world. Especially full is the chapter devoted to the Holy See. We cannot say as much for the chapter on the United States. It takes time to perfect such an enterprise. The Catholic who desires to be *au courant* with the movement

of his religion throughout the world will need this vade-mecum. If a special chapter were added, containing a bibliography *raisonnée* of the regular sources and the best annual literature concerning the life of the Church in each land, it would render a new service to the readers of this valuable publication.

Autobiography of Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston. Washington: The Neale Company. MCM1. Pp. 190.

The late Colonel Johnston was prominent among those writers to whom we owe a better acquaintance with the life and spirit of what may now be called "the older South." The charm of his stories is due largely to the fact that they were intended, as he tells us, "to illustrate characters and scenes among the simple rural folk of my native region as they were during the period of my childhood, before the time of railroads." Although the last thirty years of his life were spent in Baltimore, this autobiography is made up principally of reminiscences from the earlier days in Georgia. In a simple, straightforward way he recounts his experience as teacher, lawyer, and writer, giving us here and there a picture of the social and religious environment. But the reminiscences on which he dwells with greatest pleasure center about the courts and the distinguished men whose abilities and character were an honor to the legal profession. Of Toombs and Stephens, especially, he has much to say. With the latter he was on terms of the closest friendship, and he records, in the form of conversation, the views of the statesman concerning the South and its leaders. In fact, the second half of the volume tells us less about the author than about other people and other matters in which Colonel Johnston, as a genuine Southerner, took a deep and abiding interest.

Biblical Lectures.—Ten Popular Essays on General Aspects of the Sacred Scriptures, by the Rev. Francis E. Gigot, S. S., Professor of Sacred Scripture, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. Murphy Company, Baltimore, 1901. Pp. 385.

This little work meets a need that has long been felt in English Catholic literature. Intelligent laymen, who have had neither the time nor the opportunity to acquire an intimate acquaintance with the nature and with the varied and interesting contents of the Bible, have hitherto been obliged to have access to books of a character far too technical to give them off-hand the knowledge they desired, or to non-Catholic writers who could not be relied upon for the orthodoxy of their views. This work is intended by Father Gigot to meet this very need. The subjects of the several lectures show the varied and interesting character of

their contents. They are: "The Bible as Literature;" "The Historical Aspect of the Bible;" "The Dogmatic Teaching of the Bible;" "Morality and the Bible;" "Religious Worship in the Bible;" "The Theocracy in the Bible;" "The Bible, a Book of Devotion;" "The Bible and the Miraculous;" "The Bible and the Popular Mind;" "The Bible, the Inspired Word of God."

One need not read far to discover that these lectures are so popular in character as to be easily grasped by an intelligent mind that is only slightly familiar with the nature of Holy Writ. However, the matter is none the less solid and instructive. The language is direct and simple. The arrangement of the materials is clear and orderly. The Dogmatic, the Moral, the Historical, the Devotional, and the Miraculous elements are treated separately. The synoptical tables are of great assistance to the clear understanding of the several topics. The tone is reverent and the tendency is wisely and moderately conservative. It is an excellent book to place in the hands of such Catholic youth as have received a good course of instruction in Christian doctrine; it is likewise a useful work for more advanced students.

Biblische Vorträge. Vom Münchener Gelehrten-Kongresse. Herausgegeben vom Professor Dr. Bardenhewer. (Biblische Studien, VI. Bd., 2 Heft.) Freiburg: B. Herder, pp. 200.

The "Biblische Studien" continue to give evidence of the flourishing condition of Scriptural studies among the Catholics of Germany. The present volume, like all the others of the same series, is a proof of this fact. It contains a number of essays, dealing with Biblical topics, which were read at the International Congress of Catholic Scientists, held in Munich in September of last year. The topics handled in this volume are as follows: "The Negative and Positive Criticism of the Pentateuch," by Dr. G. Hoberg; "On Deuteronomy," by F. v. Hummelauer, S. J.; "New Contributions to the Historical Criticism of the Old Testament," by Dr. O. Happel; "Rhythmical Poems in the Old Testament," by Dr. H. Grimme; "David's Dirge Over Saul and Jonathan," by J. K. Zenner, S. J.; "The Old Babylonian Royal Name, 'Nit-In-Zu,' its correct reading and its identification with Arioch, Gen. 14," by M. Überreiter; "The Theophoric Babylonian Proper Names in the Cuneiform Documents of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries B. C.," by Dr. C. Holzhey; "The Persian Names of Kings in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah," by Dr. J. Nikel; "The Value of the Peschitto Version for the Textual Criticism of the Canticle of Canticles," by Prof. S. Euringer; "The Transmission of the Book of Sirach," by Dr. H. Herkenne; "St. Paul from the Agreement of the Apostles to the Council at Jerusalem"

(Gal. 2, 1-10; Acts of the Apostles, 15), by Dr. V. Weber; "Is Elizabeth the Singer of the Magnificat?" by Dr. O. Bardenhewer.

To ordinary readers the last article is, perhaps, the most interesting in the volume. The identification of "Nit-In-Zu" with Arioch may be admitted or denied without much difficulty. But the identification of the authoress of the Magnificat with St. Elizabeth, instead of the Blessed Virgin Mary, will not be so readily granted, nor does Dr. Bardenhewer grant it. Harnack quotes three early manuscripts of the Latin version, such as the Verouensis, the Vercellensis, and the Vratislaviensis, all of which read, "and Elizabeth said"—"et ait Elizabeth," also a passage in Origen or Jerome, which reads "kai eipen Elizabeth." Dr. Bardenhewer shows that these are exceptional readings; that they never occurred before the end of the fourth century; that they never had a footing in the Greek Church; that the context is opposed to them, and that no critical editor of the New Testament has ever ventured to insert such a reading into the text.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Classical Inheritance of the Middle Ages, by Henry Osborn Taylor. 8°, Macmillan: New York, 1901.

A History of Rome for High Schools and Academies, by George Willis Botsford, Ph. D. New York: Macmillan, 8°, 1901, pp. xiv + 396.

Mémoires de l'Abbé Baston, Chanoine de Rouen (Société d'Histoire contemporaine). Paris: Picard, 3 vols., 8°, 1897-1899.

Die Altchristliche Literatur und ihre Erforschung von 1884-1900, Erste Abtheilung. Die Vornicänische Literatur, von Albert Ehrhard. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 8°, 1900, pp. viii + 644.

Die Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius aus dem Syrischen übersetzt, von Eberhard Nestle. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901, pp. x + 296.

Titus von Bostra, Studien zu dessen Lukashomelien, von Joseph Sickenberger. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 8°, 1901, pp. vii + 267.

These works are Nos. 1 and 2 of Vol. VII (New Series) of the Texte und Untersuchungen, etc. (Leipzig, Hinrichs).

Der Dialog des Adamantius *περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ορθῆς πίστεως* herausgegeben von Dr. W. H. Van de Sande Bakhuyzen. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901, 8°, pp. lvii + 276.

Das Buch Henoch, Herausgegeben von Dr. Joh. Flemming und Dr. L. Radermacher. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 8°, 1901, p. 171.

Origenes' Werke, Dritter Band, Jeremia Homelien, Klagelieder commentar, Erklärung der Samuel und Königsbücher, Herausgegeben von Dr. Erich Klostermaier. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 8°, 1901, pp. 1 + 351.

The three preceding works are Vols. IV, V, and VI of the new edition of the Greek Fathers, published under the auspices of the Royal Prussian (Berlin) Academy.

Life of St. Gerlach, by F. A. Houck. Benziger: New York, 1900, 8°, 96 pp. Price, 55 cts.

Hindu Logic as Preserved in China and Japan, by Sadajiso Sugirua. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1900, 8°, pp. 144.

Akten des Fünften Internationalen Kongresses Katholischer Gelehrten zu München, Sept. 24-28, 1900. München, 1901: Herder, 8°, pp. v + 517.

Library of the World's Best Essays. Brewer. Kaiser Publishing Co., Vol. I, 1901.

The Great Supper of God; or, Discourses on Weekly Communion, by Rev. Stephen Coube, S. J., trans. by Ida Griffiss, edited by Rev. F. X. Brady, S. J. Benziger, New York, 1901.

Meditations on the Life, Teaching, and Passion of Jesus Christ, by Rev. Augustine Maria Ilg, O. S. F. C., trans. from the latest German edition. Edited by Richard F. Clarke, S. J., Vols. I and II.

Mass Devotions and Readings on the Mass, by Rev. F. X. Lasanca. Benziger, New York, 1901.

Notes for Teachers of English Composition, by G. R. Carpenter. Macmillan, New York, 1901.

Political Economy, Stonyhurst Philosophical Series, by Charles S. Devas, second edition, rewritten and enlarged. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1901.

Questions Asked By Protestants, briefly answered by a priest of the Diocese of Buffalo. Buffalo Volksfreund Press, 1901. Rev. M. Phillipps, 3347 Main street, Buffalo.

Vie de N. S. Jésus Christ, extraits de la "Cite Mystique de Dieu," Révélation de la très Sainte Vierge à la Ven. Marie de Jésus d'Agreda. Rome: Propaganda, 1900, 8°, pp. 317.

Eglise et Patrie, entretiens et Discours, par le P. Jean Vaudon. Paris: Retaux, 8°, 1901, pp. xv + 404.

Vie de la Bienheureuse Lidwine, par l'Abbé Condurier. Paris: Retaux, 8°, 1899, pp. 326.

Notre Dame de Lourdes, Récits et Mystères, par le P. Cros, S. J. Paris: Retaux, 8°, 1901, pp. xxx + 620.

Illustrated Explanation of the Apostles' Creed, A Thorough Exposition of Catholic Faith. Adapted from the original of Rev. H. Rolfus, D. D., with a reflection, practice, and prayer on each article of the Creed by V. Rev. Ferreol Girardey, C. SS. R. New York: Benziger, small 8°, 1901, pp. 360.

ALUMNI MEETING.

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Alumni Association of the Catholic University of America took place in the rooms of the University Club, McMahon Hall, on Tuesday, April 23, at 2 p. m.

The president, Rev. William J. Kerby, occupied the chair; Rev. M. J. O'Connor acted as secretary.

The president extended a cordial welcome to the returning Alumni as well as to those who presented themselves for membership in the Association.

An Order of Business for the meeting was read and adopted.

The minutes of the last meeting held in Philadelphia were read and accepted. At this point, the Rt. Rev. Rector, Mgr. Conaty, arrived at the meeting amid the applause of the assembled Alumni. The chair presented him with a brief but felicitous address of welcome.

The following names were added to the roll of membership:

As Active Members: Revs. Patrick Crayton, George Welch, James Sheridan, Augustine Mark, Thomas Barry, Andrew Burns, Timothy O'Keefe, Thomas Heverin, Herman Schleier, John Stinson, Arthur Vaschalde, Thomas Brennan, Fred. Delaney, Messrs. Preston Ray, Thomas O'Neill, William Kelly, Elmer Murphy, James King, William Naulty, James A. Conly, Charles F. Riedinger, James C. Burke, Frank A. Brandy, John E. McTigue, Clarke Waggaman.

As Associate Members: Very Rev. Thomas Bouquillon, D. D.; Very Rev. Henry Hyvernats, D. D.; Very Rev. Charles P. Grannan, D. D.; Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D. D.; Very Rev. Edward P. Pace, D. D.; Hon. William C. Robinson, LL. D.; Mr. Edward L. Greene, LL. D.; Rev. John J. Griffin, Ph. D.; Mr. Maurice Francis Egan, LL. D.; Mr. Daniel W. Shea, Ph. D.; Rev. Edmund T. Shanahan, D. D.; Mr. Albert F. Zahm, Ph. D.; Mr. Josiah Pierce, Jr., M. A.; Mr. Edmund B. Briggs, D. C. L.; Mr. John J. Dunn, Ph. D.; Mr. Charles H. Goddard, LL. B.; Rev. Frederick Z. Rooker, D. D.

As Honorary Members: His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, D. D., Chancellor of the University; The Most Rev. John J. Keane, First Rector; The Right Rev. Thomas O'Gorman, D. D., Professor Emeritus of Church History.

The reports of the President, Secretary, and Executive Committee were made and accepted.

Rev. Joseph McSorley, C. S. P., read a paper entitled "The Professors and the Alumni," a synopsis of which is here given.

"In selecting the subject of the present paper, the Executive Committee draws attention to a defect in existing conditions—the chief among many—so far as the alumni are concerned. As alumni we are almost wholly cut off from the University; we lack solidarity, organic unity. With most of us, residence is a thing of the past; we were at the University once, and still cherish pleasing memories of our life there. But that was in '97 or '94 or '90; and we were at a university differing in many obvious respects from the University of to-day—with which, moreover, we have no strong, actual bond of union. We know nothing of the present University beyond the scant news to be gleaned from the pages of the *BULLETIN* and the columns of the Catholic press, or communicated at chance interviews with recent students. This condition is a bad one. Absence of solidarity implies disintegration; disintegration means death sooner or later. I do not wish to intimate that our Alumni Association is essential to the existence of the University; but certainly I may assert that a defunct association means grave loss both to the University and ourselves. The well-being of both demands that they be in close and permanent communication.

"The test of 'work accomplished' is or should be the test applied to our University by friendly and unfriendly critics. Most of us, since leaving the University, have no doubt often been asked by outsiders, lay and clerical, Catholic and non-Catholic: 'What are they doing down there at Washington?' And we have been unable to tell. Gentlemen, we, of all persons in the world, should be in a position to tell, to answer such questions with a dozen significant facts. We should be kept so well informed that we could reply at once: Professor A is preparing an article for a great encyclopaedia. Professor B is getting ready a new edition of his last work. Professor C is about to publish the fourth volume of his 'Opus Magnum.' One of Professor D's special students is carrying on an original and important series of experiments. Class X has written a powerful defense in reply to a recent attack on the Church. Class Y, during the year, has succeeded in making and publishing several valuable discoveries. Class Z is editing a very precious ancient manuscript; and so on. As things are, the non-resident alumni hear almost nothing of work performed at the University; while to have at our finger tips a great number of facts like the imaginary ones just enumerated would inspire us with a feeling the absence of which is at present one of the most humiliating features in our existence as alumni. Further, had we this information at hand, we could serve the University far more effectively than we shall ever be able to do otherwise.

"As a tentative solution of the progress, I suggest, then, a small publication which will keep every alumnus informed of all the intellectual enterprises carried on by professors at the University individually or in collaboration with their students. Such publication might consist of a little sheet of say four pages, issuing bi-weekly or monthly, and, while mainly academic in character, containing a résumé of all the current events connected with the University history, keeping record, for instance, of distinguished guests and their impression of our institution, reporting little social affairs, club meetings, personal details about former students, summarizing public lectures, papers read before the different societies, etc., etc.; and in general recording all those various happenings which are at present briefly mentioned in that part of the *BULLETIN* known as the University Chronicle. A publication like that indicated would surely not overtax our strength, if we are as progressive, as well dis-

ciplined, as unselfish as we profess to be. It could be managed by a resident alumnus and a board of assistants; and if kept clear of any suspicion of mendacity, or narrowness, if made representative of all the good work done in any department of the University—and only of good work—it would, both by means of the things said and the things left unsaid, give the alumni a deal of information for which they would be only too glad to pay.

“But a means of communication will not of itself suffice. There must be something to communicate; and I would postulate two conditions as absolutely necessary for the successful working of this or any other plan invented to remove the difficulty complained of. That I may make my meaning perfectly clear, let us consider the matter in the abstract. I claim, then, in order that any alumni association and university faculty or faculties may advantageously communicate with each other, there must be:

“1st. Intellectuality of a high order within the University, and,

“2d. A loyal body of wide-awake and intelligent alumni outside.

“I shall not stop to consider the second of these conditions, since it gives so little opening for suggestion that it may be dismissed with a word. For as to wide-awake and intelligent alumni—God must send them.

“The other condition, gentlemen, is indeed, the one of very first importance. There must be intellectual life within the University, life of a high order and in generous abundance. Though there were a powerful and loyal body of alumni, with means of communication most easy and regular, this would not avail if there were little or nothing of value to be communicated.

“I am strongly of the opinion that the part of the University work which would constitute the most profitable field for intercourse, which should as it were, be made the proper subject-matter of communication, is the private or special work undertaken outside the regular routine of class-room and lecture-hall. I mean everything in the line of academy and seminar activity. Lectures and classes are apt to some extent to be cut-and-dried. There the student is grounded in the immutable principles of his science and taught the unchangeable facts at the base of progress. The same theses must therefore be repeated year after year, the same arguments expanded, the same illustrations used, the same conclusions drawn, all of which is of but little interest to the alumnus who in some instances by consulting the Year Book and looking up his old notes can reproduce in extenso the matter that is being given now as it was given three, six, nine and twelve years ago, and will, in all probability, be given every third year in future.

But the work done outside the class-room is of a different order. Here there is or should be always something new—comment upon current developments, on new theories, or discoveries, criticism of contemporary literature, planning of work along original lines, and the like. And of these things the alumnus would gladly hear. So exclusively true is this that I think we may omit from consideration all courses which do not include something that smacks of the personal and the original, something that is worthy of a great University.

The seminar or academy or circle or laboratory—the gathering that is meant to encourage and develop private effort is the heart of the organism, and the life blood if there is any must flow out from there. For when I say academy and the like, gentlemen, I mean a real living thing, not a moribund tenant of academy premises. I mean an institution that meets frequently and regularly, that works faithfully, that sees far and thinks clearly, not so purely intellectual that its meeting place is the only outward and visible sign of its existence. The kind of gathering I refer to

is one whose members are just as conscious as the alumni are that there is a great world outside the University walls, a gathering wherein the same books are criticised and the same questions discussed which are engrossing the attention of the intelligent and educated outside. To a body such as this the alumnus can refer the facts that he knows would be of interest; from this body he can derive valuable assistance in forming judgments about affairs that tax his brain with puzzles which only students are able to solve. Blessed the university which is filled with such institutions, call them academies, seminars, or what you will. Blessed, indeed, the students of such a university, if they can continue to enjoy its advantages even after they have become alumni.

"But such conditions can hardly begin with the establishment of intercourse between the alumni and their university. The spirit that will dominate will be the spirit fostered in undergraduate days. That spirit is something like an atmosphere—intangible, almost indescribable, but very real. And the right spirit? The kind that should obtain? I might perhaps name it a glad consciousness of solidarity. When it exists the interests of professors and students are understood to be identical. The master feels his men are working for and with him; he knows that they are critically attentive to every word and move of his, so that he could not safely shirk his work even if so inclined. The students on their part find in their instructor a model of method and energy, a man whose main interest is his own line of work, who is devoted to his students, who never appoints tasks at random, who is always ready with an inspiration and equally ready with judicious revision and sane correction. Let such be the relationship between professors and students in a university—and only a means of communication will be wanted to perpetuate and extend it in the case of the alumni.

"I have stated that what I conceive to be the ideal and the provisos that condition its attainment. Let me add that just at present circumstances prevent the immediate full success of any attempt of ours to secure that ideal; for we must recognize that our University is still in its infancy and that vital problems of organization absorb some share of the energy that normally would be liberated for intellectual achievements. But even so; the story of what is being done in the way of construction and formation is an interesting one to the alumni, and for the present would serve to supplement the scant supply of strictly academic news. And if we go so far as to discuss the possibility of starting a publication now, there is at any rate one objection that we should be cautious about advancing—the plea that we could not fill its few pages with things of intellectual value and interest. Gentlemen, if such be the case, we had best do away with the pretence of being serious and devote ourselves exclusively to the discussion of annual dinners."

The paper gave rise to a long and important discussion on the project of starting a publication for the purpose of recording the more noteworthy events of University life, with a special view of keeping the Alumni in closer touch with the class and academic work done under the direction of the professors in the various departments.

When the discussion had come to a close, a committee of four was appointed to take the plan under consideration, and confer with the administration as to the steps necessary to carry it into effect. The committee was directed to bring in a report at the next annual meeting of the Alumni.

A paper on the subject of "Local Organizations" was read by the Secretary, in the absence of the author, Rev. Lawrence Deering. A brief synopsis is here inserted.

"By local organizations of the Alumni Associations is meant a certain number of Alumni, clerical and lay, who form among themselves in their respective cities some sort of a Union subject to the general Alumni Association of the University.

"The advantages to be derived from such local unions are clearly evident. While they keep alive and foster the spirit of the University among the Alumni who reside at a great distance from the home of Alma Mater, they will react also on the main association and add to its strength and increase its opportunities for good.

"In the general Alumni meeting many suggestions are made which, if carried out, might prove of great utility, yet the time that can on such an occasion be devoted to the consideration of such suggestions is necessarily limited, and hence they are but too apt to fall to the ground inoperative.

"Now organizations in large cities could do much good work there. They might develop these suggestions more at length; and if seen fit, test their merit by actual experiment.

"The presence of local organization will serve to bring home more intimately to the Alumni the aims and methods of the parent society. The frequent meeting in local centers from New York to San Francisco of those who acknowledge the same Alma Mater will not suffer the memory of that mother to perish, but will keep anxious watch that her good name be ever respected; will strive to keep alive her spirit, the spirit of study; will endeavor to influence public opinion in her favor.

"To be successful, organizations of this kind should be of the simplest formation possible. They should embrace laymen and clerics. One alumnus might be chosen by the members residing in a given district to act as chairman, to send out notices of meetings. Meetings should take place every month. To give such meetings definite purpose, some paper of general interest should be prepared. The topics to be treated should be made known to all the local Alumni, so that the matter might be discussed with profit at the gathering itself. Such gatherings should be social rather than formal, somewhat after the manner of the ancient French salon, where bishop and priest, doctor and lawyer, courtier and citizen met and exchanged views on important matters, and thus helped to fashion French society.

"Perhaps a little patience will be required in the formation of these local associations, but such is the case with all beginnings. Once started, however, and properly carried out, great good cannot fail to result from them."

This topic also led to an extended debate among the members. The matter was then referred to the Executive Committee, with instruction to ascertain the conditions bearing on this project in the various sections of the country, and report at the next meeting.

Suitable resolutions were drawn up and adopted on the recent death of Monsignor James McMahon, the illustrious benefactor of the University :

"Whereas God in His Providence has been pleased to call to his eternal reward, the venerable benefactor of the University, Monsignor McMahon, and

"Whereas, the Alumni Association of the University recognized in him one,

the memory of whose munificence should be forever preserved in the traditions of the University,

"Resolved, That the Alumni Association of the Catholic University of America express to the University its deep appreciation of the character and the work of the departed benefactor, and

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the Rt. Rev. Rector of the University, and that they be spread upon the records of this meeting."

The city of Baltimore was fixed upon as the place of the next Annual Meeting.

The need of a revision of the constitution was pointed out by the Secretary, and the Chair was instructed to name a Committee on Revision. The question of annual dues was referred to the same committee, with directions to submit a report to the society at its next annual meeting.

The entire list of officers was re-elected for the following year. President, Rev. William J. Kerby, Ph. D.; vice-presidents, Rev. William T. Russell, Mr. James L. Kennedy; secretary, Rev. Maurice J. O'Connor; treasurer, Rev. John W. Melody; historian, Rev. Francis W. Maley; executive committee, Rev. William A. Fletcher, Rev. George V. Leahy, Rev. Joseph McSorley, C. S. P., Mr. Wm. T. S. Jackson, Mr. George J. Twohy.

The meeting was brought to a close by a notable address from the Rector.

"Among other things, he mentioned the increasing prominence which the University was gaining in the educational world, particularly evidenced by the fact of its taking rank among the fourteen leading universities of the country, which are aiming to unite on some action, whereby the value and dignity of the university degrees may be safeguarded. He spoke of the encouraging results of the Conference of Catholic Colleges, held recently at Chicago, and of the unanimous and vigorous action taken under the leadership of the University, by the distinguished representatives of Catholic Colleges for the purpose of introducing unity and harmony among all the agencies for Catholic education in the United States.

"He laid before the Alumni a brief sketch of a plan conceived and still under consideration, of forming a grand national organization to provide for a contingent fund for University purposes. Finally, he referred to the increasing generosity of the Catholics of this country towards the University, and of the loyal and successful work already done by some of the earlier Alumni in directing the attention of wealthy and generous Catholics towards the ever-pressing financial needs of the University."

The meeting then adjourned after a session lasting more than two hours.

The following were present at the meeting: The Rt. Rev. Mgr. Conaty, D. D.; Very Rev. P. J. Garrigan, D. D.; Rev. William J. Kerby, Ph. D.; Rev. Maurice J. O'Connor, Rev. Thomas Brennan, Mr. James L. Kennedy, Mr. William T. S. Jackson, Rev. Frank Duffy, Hon. William C. Robinson, LL. D.; Rev. A. A. Vaschalde, Rev. Herman Schleier, Rev. John D. Maguire, Ph. D.; Mr. Charles H. Goddard, Rev. George Welch, Rev. John W. Melody, Rev. Joseph McGinley, Rev. James J. Donnelly

Mr. William Kelly, Mr. James King, Rev. Charles F. Aiken, D. D.; Rev. James Sheridan, Rev. Michael McSorley, Rev. John A. Ryan, Rev. Thomas L. Barry, Mr. James A. Conly, Rev. James Tower, Rev. Thomas Heverin, Rev. Joseph Smith, Rev. James J. Fox, D. D.; Mr. Charles F. Riedinger, Mr. John E. McTigue, Rev. Joseph McSorley, C. S. P.; Rev. John E. Bradley.

THE ALUMNI BANQUET.

An elaborate banquet at Rauscher's brought to a close the annual meeting. Clergy and lay graduates from all parts of the east were present and listened, among other things, to a toast proposed to "The Holy Father" and responded to by Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore. Prominent officials of the University added their words of praise to the loyal utterances of the alumni.

The banquet hall was decorated with a profusion of American flags, about which were entwined the Catholic colors, yellow and white. The tables were arranged in the shape of a horseshoe. At intervals along the white-clothed boards candelabra were placed, the white tapers being surmounted by yellow mantels. At the head table, where the Cardinal sat, however the candle mantles were red. James L. Kennedy, one of the vice-presidents of the alumni association, presided as toast-master, and there were seated at the guests' table Cardinal Gibbons, Monsignor Conaty, rector of the Catholic University; Rev. Dr. Magnien, president of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; Wm. Bruce King, president of the Columbian University alumni of this city; Rev. James Burns, president of Holy Cross College.

Cardinal Gibbons was called away early to fill an engagement in Baltimore, but before leaving the feast he responded briefly to the first toast proposed, "The Holy Father." He said:

"The name of the Holy Father is always a delightful one. We love him for his interest in us all, and especially for his interest in the Catholic University. We all love him for his intention to raise Monsignor Martinelli to be a cardinal. We are all grateful for this.

"I am going directly to Rome, and when I see the Holy Father I will tell him that the last time I sat in a public gathering it was with the alumni of the Catholic University of America. You all know my love for the institution, and I have great pride in it. A friend of mine told me that men come from the Catholic University fitted to cope with any problems. I hope and believe this is true.

"I can only close by thanking God that we live in a country where religion is free and where speech is free. I have always thanked God for this. There is no country on the face of the earth of which one might more truly say this. We have the greatest audience here in the world—an audience which loves education and loves freedom. God bless America and Americans, and God bless its great institution of learning, the Catholic University of America."

The Cardinal was liberally applauded at the close of his remarks.

Rev. Francis O. Duffy, of New York, responded to the toast, "Our Alma Mater." He referred to the gratitude expressed by those present to their alma mater, and said that men who had never graduated from such an institution as the Catholic University could never know the feelings of those who had.

He commended the plan of going along with the University work without so much publicity, and without advertising the labors.

"No man can attend our University, said he, "and not feel grateful all his life. We are tonight gathered around our alma mater like chickens around an old hen. May our alma mater live forevermore and forevermore be glorified."

Rev. John T. Driscoll, of Albany, N. Y., responded to the toast, "Our Country." He drew attention to the fact that the motto of the Catholic University was "God and Our Country."

"Next to God is the love of our country," said he, "and it is proper that we should have this as our watchword. There is nowhere in the world a country like our own—the United States. The name is as dear to me as is the freedom which we breathe here. Our flag is fanned by the breezes of freedom and we bless God that we are free and pray as one man that we may never be less free.

"If we look back to one hundred years ago we may be all the more thankful for the blessings which we enjoy. Today a glorious prospect stretches before us, and there is no height which we may not attain. We should always stand together in this country, and with the best type of Christian manhood to the fore, we have nothing to fear. Here we may exercise all freedom of religion. By exercising this freedom we may become the best kind of citizens."

The toastmaster declared that one of the principal objects of the Alumni Association is to bring the graduates into closer relationship with the professors of the University, and it was therefore eminently fitting to propose a toast to "The Alumni and the Professors." Rev. Dr. Shahan, of the Catholic University, was asked to respond. Dr. Shahan spoke of the gratifying growth of the University and said that while Alumni gatherings were small as yet, they would expand with each year as the work of the University is extended. He spoke of the esteem in which the professors hold the graduates who are working to aid the University, and also spoke of the attachment which the professors feel for their labors at the University.

"Our hearts are in our work," he declared, "and it is most gratifying to us when we are away enjoying our summer vacation to hear the kind words and praise uttered everywhere for the Alumni of the Catholic University. The University is young yet and needs more students and more money. But we are working quietly and pushing ever onward."

Mr. William Bruce King, president of the Alumni Association of Columbian University, this city, was next introduced. Mr. King said he was proud to represent his alma mater at a gathering of the Alumni of the Catholic University. He spoke of the recent Columbian banquet

and said the graduates of that institution were delighted to have with them at that time representatives of the Catholic institution, which, while young in educational circles of the capital, had already attained to much success. He brought greetings, he declared, from Columbian and expressed the hope that the happy relations existing between the two universities would continue fraternally for many, many years.

"The Clergy and Laity" was the next toast proposed, and Dr. Charles P. Neill responded. An illustration, he said, of the happy mingling of the clergy and laity at the Catholic University, was the fact that the Hall of Divinity owed its endowment to a lady, benevolent and good, and that the hall for the laity owed its existence to the munificent gift of a pious priest. The great work of the Catholic University, he continued, should be given to the world of Christian scholars. Other institutions might turn out cultured gentlemen and eminent citizens, but the Catholic University must fail unless it goes further and makes Christians of its students who go out to labor in the workaday world. Dr. Neill spoke of the great work that was yet to be done by the Alumni, a work for God and Church and country.

Rev. James Burns, of Holy Cross College, was introduced to speak for the affiliated institutions of learning. He spoke of the kindly relationship existing between the affiliated colleges and the University. He then referred to the great evolution which is now going on in educational circles. In Germany and in France, he said, the students get through their college education three years before the students of America. As the German educational system is generally regarded as the standard, there is a force at work in the United States to bring the American system to the German standard. As a result of this tendency to shorten the curriculum the high schools are pushing some of their work back to the graded schools and the colleges are pushing some of their work back to the high schools, and so on.

The question which must now be seriously considered in view of the evolution in progress, Rev. Father Burns declared, is whether the Catholic colleges shall continue to send their graduates to the Catholic University, or whether they shall follow the example set by their neighbors and establish their own post-graduate courses. He said that unless the Catholic colleges establish these courses they are in danger of being relegated to the class known as "small colleges" and become but little short of high schools. The question, he said, must be considered from the college standpoint and must be solved soon. Father Burns spoke of the fine loyalty to the University felt by all Catholic colleges and said that the establishment of the University was the greatest boom the Catholic Church and colleges of America had ever known.

Monsignor Conaty, rector of the Catholic University, was the last speaker of the evening, the toastmaster introducing him with the statement that it was always regarded as proper to reserve the best for the last. The rector was introduced as a man who had proved himself the most worthy successor of Archbishop Keane, whom all the graduates of the early years of the university had learned to love so much.

Monsignor Conaty was invited to respond to the toast, "The Administration and the Alumni." He said the University had already been well spoken for by the alumni, who are best fitted to bespeak its praises.

"The graduate knows what the university stands for. He knows that its work does not consist mainly of a fine schedule of studies and an array of brilliant professors. He knows what the university does for a man, he knows the value of its instruction, he knows the 'milk in the cocoanut.' The word of the alumni is worth, therefore, much more than those in administration. It is pleasant for us all to know, however, that the best we can say for the university is true. All we ask of those who would doubt is that they examine its work rather than its schedule. Test the University by what it has done, and it will not be found wanting.

"When the Catholic Church decided to establish a University, it did not go to Congress and ask for an appropriation. The Church felt that there was in the hearts of its people a well-defined feeling for a university, and one was established. Its every obligation has been met and there is still money in the bank. The University now has buildings of the value of one million dollars and an endowment fund of the same amount. Its establishment called together an organization which, although but ten years old, can now be compared favorably with any other organization of the Church in America. We are but beginning our work. Let it go forward—onward, ever."

Letters of regret were read from Monsignor Martinelli, William C. Robinson, Professor of Law, Catholic University; President Whitney, of Georgetown University; Brother Abdas, of St. John's College, and others.

Among the special guests of the Alumni were His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, Right Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, Rector of the University; Very Rev. Philip J. Garrigan, Vice-Rector; Very Rev. Dr. Magnien, President of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; Mr. William Bruce King, President of the Columbian University Alumni Association; the Very Rev. J. A. Burns, C. S. C., President of Holy Cross College. Others present were Mr. James L. Kennedy, Mr. Daniel W. Shea, Mr. Edward L. Greene, Mr. Charles P. Neill, Mr. Maurice F. Egan, Mr. Patrick Conaty, Rev. Henry Chapuis, S. S.; Mr. Charles H. Goddard, Mr. Wm. T. S. Jackson, Mr. James King, Mr. William Kelly, Revs. Arthur Vaschalde, Edmund T. Shanahan, James Sheridan, Thomas L. Barry, John W. Melody, Thomas Heverin; Mr. Clarke Waggaman; Revs. Joseph McGinley, John A. Ryan, James A. Toner; MM. James C. Bourke, Charles Riedinger, William Naulty; Revs. Thomas Bouquillon, Henry Hyvernay, Frederick Z. Rooker, Francis Duffy, James J. Fox, William E. Fletcher, James J. Donnelly, Edward A. Pace, John T. Driscoll, Thomas J. Shahan, John Stinson, Timothy P. O'Keefe, Maurice J. O'Connor, Joseph Smith, Thomas O'Brien, James Fitzsimmons, Charles F. Aiken, John Bradley; Mr. John J. Dunn; Rev. Joseph McSorley, C. S. P.; John D. Maguire, Michael McSorley.

RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR JAMES McMAHON.

It is with sincere regret that we have to announce the death of our dear and great benefactor, Rt. Rev. Monsignor James McMahon, so well known for his munificent gift of McMahon Hall to the Catholic University. He was a man of exceedingly good health until about a year ago, when he began to show evidence of the weakness which comes with old age; but it was not until five or six weeks before his death that this weakness increased to such a degree as to alarm the authorities of the University. Notwithstanding the constant attendance of physician and trained nurses, who watched him night and day, he peacefully passed to his eternal reward Monday, April 15th, fortified with all the aids and comforts of religion. His death was like his life, calm and quiet, and resigned to the Divine Will. The body, vested in the purple robes of a prelate's office, and placed in a metallic-lined casket, was borne to the University Chapel, where it lay in state for two days, guarded night and day by relays of ecclesiastical students, who succeeded one another in that loving duty. The flags of the University hung at half mast, and classes were suspended from the day of his death until the day after the funeral. The main entrance to the building, Caldwell Hall, where he died, was heavily draped in black, as were also the stairway and doors leading to the Chapel, while the Chapel itself was somberly clad in the same color. An air of gloom hung like a pall over the whole University, and the chief topic of conversation among all was of the life and unobtrusive goodness of the deceased prelate. Something was missing from the daily life here; for, while Monsignor McMahon was of a quiet and unassuming disposition, still his familiar figure and gentle ways were a pleasure and an inspiration to all. It is like the disappearance of an old landmark, the removal of which we shall be long in accustoming ourselves.

The funeral obsequies took place Tuesday morning. The Rt. Rev. Rector, who had gone to Dubuque to represent the

University at the ceremony of the investiture of the pallium on Archbishop Keane, was immediately informed of the death of Monsignor McMahon, and returned to take charge of the exercises. The presidents of the affiliated colleges, with their students, together with all the University students and the professors in full academic dress were present at the services. The Rt. Rev. Rector presided at the office for the dead, which was chanted by the students. The Pontifical Mass of Requiem was sung by Rt. Rev. John M. Farley, D. D., Auxiliary Bishop of New York, a member of the Board of Trustees of the University. Rev. P. J. Healy, S. T. L., of New York, was the assistant priest; Rev. John W. Melody, S. T. L., of Chicago, deacon; Rev. Thomas S. Flynn, of Syracuse, sub-deacon, and Rev. James P. Sheridan, of New York, master of ceremonies. The Mass sung was by Claudio Casciolini, of the sixteenth century. It was found in an old volume in the University library; very probably it is the first time that it has been sung in this country. The regular University choir was augmented by some of the Paulist and Holy Cross students, and the Mass was excellently rendered. At the conclusion of the Mass the Rt. Rev. Rector delivered the eulogy. He was visibly affected with emotion as he spoke of the life and character of the departed benefactor. His discourse created a profound impression on the audience.

Monsignor Conaty took for his text the verses: "I heard a voice from heaven saying to me, write: Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord. From henceforth now, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labors, for their works follow them" (Apoc. xiv. 13).

"Death has entered our household. It has taken from us the patriarch of the family, the most generous benefactor of the University. To the man of faith there is a note of gladness when death comes to a life in which all actions are weighted in the scales of eternity. Death is the gateway of Life, the entrance to eternal joy. The responsibilities of life are easily cared for, when the spirit of God has been the informing principle of all action. Eighty-four years mark a long life. Sixty years spent in the priesthood are filled with responsibilities; but when that long life has been one constant desire to know God and to serve Him, how sweet the thought of death which leads to rest with God!

"Born in the north of Ireland, trained from his early years for the priesthood, a student in that famous institution, Maynooth College, he followed the highest theological studies. Passing to France, he entered the Society of St. Sulpice, and was soon assigned to work in the mission of Montreal. A friend of the great Archbishop Hughes, of New York, he was induced to enter upon mission service in that diocese, and became assistant to Dr. Starrs, pastor of St. Mary's Church. Later on he was made under-pastor of the church. Nearly forty years of his priestly life were spent on the missions in New York City.

"Ten years ago he resigned his parish, and retired to the University, after having made a donation of properties amounting to nearly \$400,000, with which the McMahon Hall was built. He accumulated money, but had no affection for it, except inasmuch as it gave him opportunities for future good.

"As far as we know anything of his early life it is certain that there had come to him a small patrimony. This he judiciously invested in properties in New York at a time when values were exceedingly small. Forty years of development brought large results, and we are not surprised that keen business sense led to the fortune which he bestowed upon the University. He knew the value of money; he never wasted it nor did he spend it lavishly; but when the time came he gave generously and without hesitation all he possessed, that the Church might be enabled to do the great work in higher education which had been begun. The Holy Father recognized this generosity to Catholic education by naming him a member of his household, and conferring upon him the title of Monsignor, giving him in his brief the honorable distinction of being called 'a pious and learned priest.'

"He was a father among us. His greatest monument is not that which he erected on our campus, which, indeed, is a monument of which any man may well be proud. A greater monument is found in his daily priestly life, for he was an example to us all. He was a man of faith, a man of meditation and of prayer—he was a pious priest, a scholarly man of God. He was governed by nobility of purpose, setting before himself a very high standard of character as becoming the priest. He despised whatever was mean and petty, and loved to consider the priest as a cultured gentleman. He was modest and retiring, and loved his chapel, his library, and his friends.

"We pay to his memory our tribute of respect and veneration. Professors and students can never forget the character which he has maintained during his years among us. We all loved him, not so much for his gifts to the University as for his noble, simple life."

Monsignor Conaty urged remembrance of him in the daily prayers of students and professors, and said that—

"Though we miss him, and his death is our loss, yet we rejoice that a long journey is ended, and that the life well spent has gone to God for its eternal reward. Monsignor McMahon lives now as a memory, but he will live as a noble type of priest; pious, learned, generous, a broad-minded citizen and a devoted friend."

At the conclusion of the sermon Bishop Farley pronounced the Absolution, all the congregation holding lighted candles. The casket was then borne to the hearse. The active pall bearers represented the different sections of the University. They were Hon. William C. Robinson, Dean of the Law Schools; Dr. Edw. Lee Greene, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy; Professors Maurice F. Egan and Albert F. Zahm, of the Faculty of Philosophy; Rev. John W. Melody, representing the ecclesiastical students, and Mr. Elmer J. Murphy, representing the lay students. The honorary pall bearers, selected from the professors who were the longest connected with the University were: Rev. Thomas Bouquillon, D. D.; Rev. Henry Hyvernau, Ph. D.; Rev. Charles P. Grannan, D. D.; Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., Rev. Edw. A. Pace, Ph. D., and Rev. John J. Griffin, Ph. D. As the pall bearers lifted the casket the chapel bell was tolled and remained tolling until the cortege left the University grounds.

The students marched from Caldwell Hall in procession to the gates of the University, chanting the "Benedictus." As the funeral cortege passed from the chapel, the bell was tolled and remained tolling until the procession left the grounds of the University. When the gates were reached the procession opened and lined both sides of the road to allow the hearse and carriages to pass through. The body was temporarily placed in the receiving vault of Mt. Olivet Cemetery, where Very Rev. Dr. Dumont, President of Caldwell Hall, said the prayers for the dead. The flowers that surrounded the casket were gifts from the professors and students of the University. Among the clergy in attendance at the service were:

Rev. Wm. Fletcher, S.T.L., representing Cardinal Gibbons; Rev. Walter Elliott, C. S. P., president of St. Thomas College; Rev. J. B. Descreux, S. M., president of Marist College; Rev. J. A. Burns, C. S. C., president of Holy Cross College; Rev. Godfrey Schilling, O. F. M., superior of the Franciscan

Monastery; Very Rev. A. L. Magnien, S. S., D. D., superior of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; Rev. Brother Abdas, president of St. John's College, Washington; Rev. John D. Whitney, S. J., president of Georgetown University; Rev. John A. Conway, S. J., Rev. Father Moran, O. P., superior of the Dominicans; Rev. Thomas S. Lee, of St. Matthew's; Rev. James F. Mackin, of St. Paul's, and Rev. Dr. Stafford, of St. Patrick's; Rev. Father Kent, O. P., St. Dominic's church; Rev. Eugene Hannan, St. Antony's church; Rev. Charles Warren Currier, St. Mary's church; Rev. F. Z. Rooker, D. D., of the papal legation; Father William, O. F. M.; Rev. J. Solier, S. M., D. D.; Rev. James J. Fox, D. D.; Rev. P. J. Hallissey, S. T. L., of Springfield; Mr. Thomas E. Waggaman, treasurer of the board of trustees.

The University paid the highest tribute of respect to its noblest benefactor, and the ceremony will long be remembered by all who were privileged to witness it.

THE THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC COLLEGES.

On Wednesday morning, April 10, representatives of nearly every Roman Catholic educational institution of collegiate standing in the United States met in St. James' Hall, Chicago, Ill. The gathering was the Third Annual Conference of the Catholic Colleges of America. The president of the association, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Conaty, Rector of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., presided. Following is a list of the delegates who attended :

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Conaty, D. D., president of the association, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Aloysius Bradley, O. S. B., St. Benedict's College, Atchison, Kans., and St. Bernard's College, Cullinan, Ala.; Benedict Boebner, C. PP. S., President St. Joseph's College, Collegeville, Ind.; P. V. Byrne, C. M., President St. Vincent's College, Chicago, Ill.; John S. Burke, S. J., Vice-President St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.; J. A. Burns, C. S. C., President Holy Cross College, Washington, D. C.; A. J. Burrowes, President Marquette College, Milwaukee, Wis.; John P. Carroll, D. D., President St. Joseph's College, Dubuque, Iowa; Francis B. Cassilly, S. J., St. Ignatius' College, Chicago, Ill.; Wm. F. Clark, S. J., Vice-President St. Francis Xavier's, New York, N. Y.; John A. Conway, S. J., Vice-President Gonzaga College, Washington, D. C.; Henry J. DeLaak, S. J., St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.; Lawrence A. Delurey, O. S. A., Villanova College, Villanova, Pa.; Albert A. Dierckes, S. J., St. Francis Xavier's, Cincinnati, Ohio; Bruno Doerfler, O. S. B., Vice-President St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn.; John F. Dolphin, M. A., President College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn.; C. J. J. Donegan, S. J., President Creighton University, Omaha, Neb.; Candidus Eichenlaub, St. Bede's College, Peru, Ill.; James P. Fagan, S. J., Vice-President Georgetown College, Washington, D. C.; James D. Foley, President Detroit College, Detroit, Mich.; Brother Fidelis, Rector St. Francis' College, Brooklyn, N. Y.; James J. French, C. S. C., Notre Dame University, Notre Dame P. O., Ind.; P. J. Franciscus, C. S. C., St. Edward's College, Austin, Tex.; Martin A. Hehir, C. S. Sp., Holy Cross College, Pittsburg, Pa.; John U. Heinze, S. J., Canisius College, Buffalo, N. Y., St. Ignatius' College,

Cleveland, O., St. John's College, Toledo, O., Sacred Heart, Prairie du Chien, Wis.; E. A. Higgins, S. J., Santa Clara College, Santa Clara, Cal., St. Ignatius' College, San Francisco, Cal.; W. C. Hoctor, C. M., St. John Baptist College, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Vincent Huber, O. S. B., Rector St. Bede's College, Peru, Ill.; J. Kosinski, C. R., Vice-President St. Stanislaus' College, Chicago, Ill., St. Mary's College, St. Mary, Ky.; Michael Leary, S. J., St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kan.; P. Nicholas Leonard, V. F. M., St. Francis Solanus' College, Quincy, Ill.; A. A. Malloy, C. M., St. Vincent's College, Chicago, Ill.; Andrew J. Morrissey, C. S. C., President Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Ind.; William L. O'Hara, C. M., Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md.; John N. Poland, S. J., St. Xavier's College, Cincinnati, O.; E. L. Rivard, C. S. V., St. Viateur's College, Bourbonnais, Ill.; J. F. Quirk, S. J., Vice-President Boston College, Boston, Mass.; Charles B. Schrantz, S. S., M. A., St. Charles' College, Ellicott City, Md.; Antoine Wilmer, O. M. Cap., Rector St. Lawrence College, Mt. Calvary, Wis.; St. Fidelis College, Herman, Pa.; Prof. Edmund J. Ryan, M. A., Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md.

The Rev. Francis Cassilly, S. J., of St. Ignatius College, Chicago, and the Rev. J. F. Dolphin, of St. Thomas' College, St. Paul, were appointed secretaries of the meeting.

The address of the President, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Conaty, which we publish elsewhere in the *BULLETIN*, was on "The Catholic College in the Twentieth Century," and was an appeal for devotion to the best college work, loyalty on the part of the colleges to the different elements of the educational system, and particularly to the University, which holds the headship.

The next address was a timely and forcible plea for the establishment and increase of Catholic High Schools, by the Rev. J. A. Burns, C. S. C., of the Holy Cross College, Washington.

After Father Burns' addresses, a letter from the Apostolic Delegate, Cardinal-elect Martinelli, was read. We give the text on another page, together with the letter of Cardinal Gibbons to the Conference.

On Wednesday afternoon, Rev. Henry J. DeLaak, S. J., Professor of Physics in the St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo., read a scholarly paper on the teaching of science.

Following the discussion of Father DeLaak's paper came a paper on "The Teaching of History in College," by the

Rev. Laurence A. Delurey, O. S. A., President of Villanova College, Villanova, Pa.

Father Delnrey's very suggestive paper was fully discussed.

On Thursday morning the Conference opened with a well-written article on "The Teaching of English in College," by Prof. Edmund J. Ryan, M. A., Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md.

Rev. James P. Fagan, S. J., Vice-President of Georgetown University, next read a very exhaustive article on "The Status of Educational Legislation in the United States."

The committee appointed in last year's Conference to draw up a tentative schedule of requirements for entrance into the freshman class made a report at this stage of the convention. The ideas embodied in their report having been discussed at some length, were finally referred back to the colleges for further consideration. After hearing the views of the different colleges the committee is expected to make a more definite report at the next Conference.

Friday's session opened with the reading of a cablegram from Cardinal Rampolla, bestowing the blessing of the Holy Father on the work of the Conference.

The Rev. Candidus Eichenlaub, O. S. B., of St. Bede's College, Peru, Ill., held the close attention of the delegates with an instructive treatment of his subject, "The Study of Greek."

At the election of officers, which followed, Rt. Rev. Monsignor Conaty was unanimously re-elected President of the Association, and the Rev. John A. Conway, S. J., of Gonzaga College, Washington, was re-elected Secretary and Treasurer.

The standing committee for the ensuing year is composed as follows:

Rev. J. A. Conway, S. J., Washington, D. C.; Rev. W. L. O'Hara, M. A., Emmitsburg, Md.; Rev. Vincent Huber, O. S. B., Peru, Ill.; Rev. James A. French, C. S. C., Notre Dame, Ind.; Rev. L. A. Delurey, O. S. A., Villanova, Pa.

The following vigorous protest against the encroachments of the State on private education was made by the convention and put in the form of resolutions.

The standing committee met on April 11, 1901. Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty presided. All the members of the committee were present. The following resolutions were drafted, and proposed to the Conference for action :

First—That this Association of Catholic Colleges requests its President, Right Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, respectfully to call the attention of the bishops of the United States, at their annual meeting, to the work of this Conference in regard to our collegiate conditions, and especially to the importance of the High School movement.

Second—That the tendency of educational legislation forces us to warn our Catholic people of the systematic and well defined effort in certain quarters towards absolute State control in education, thereby threatening and crippling all private educational effort, thus depriving a large class of the citizens of the liberty of maintaining schools in which their religion shall be made an essential element.

Third—That we remind legislators of the rights of conscience guaranteed to us by our American citizenship, and call their attention to the systems of schools which our people have maintained at great expense and sacrifice.

Fourth—That we protest against the unfair and unjust discrimination resulting from much of the educational legislation, and we appeal to the fair-mindedness and sense of justice of the American people to protect us from such illiberality.

Fifth—That this conference of Catholic colleges convinces us that we are justified in asserting that our college system deserves the generous co-operation of all interested in higher Catholic education ; and we pledge ourselves to use every effort to protect still more our collegiate conditions.

Sixth—That we call upon all Catholics to recognize the imperative need of a more perfect organization of our educational system, and we assure them that with a fuller development of the Catholic High School we shall have a complete system, with its headship in the University, and shall thus continue to maintain a high collegiate standard.

Seventh—That a committee be appointed to prepare condensed report of this present meeting, to be forwarded to the Catholic press.

Eighth—That previous to next meeting, notification of the same be sent to the Chicago press.

Ninth—That a committee be appointed to consider carefully the papers read at this meeting, and their practical results ; and to report the same at the next meeting of the Conference.

Tenth—That the next meeting be held in Chicago on the first Tuesday after the Fourth of July, in 1902, place of local assembly to be determined by the executive committee.

LETTERS OF CARDINAL MARTINELLI AND CARDINAL GIBBONS.

We append the text of these documents. They are of great weight in the question of unifying the education of the Catholic youth of the United States under the direction of the Catholic University of America.

LETTER OF CARDINAL MARTINELLI, APOSTOLIC DELEGATE TO THE
UNITED STATES.

"APOSTOLIC DELEGATION OF AMERICA,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., April 23, 1901.

"RT. REV. THOMAS J. CONATY, D. D., Rector Catholic University of America, Chairman of the Association of Catholic Colleges.

"RT. REVEREND DEAR SIR:—I regret that, again this year, it will be impossible for me to be present in Chicago at the annual convention of your Association. Could I so arrange it, I would gladly be there, for as I have already assured the Association through you, I am heartily in sympathy with its scope and purposes; and I would do all in my power to encourage its members to earnest and sincere efforts toward their accomplishment. As I believe I have said before, the educational work done by Catholics up to the present time is deserving of great praise. Wonders have been wrought in the face of difficulties which have been by no means light. That so much has been done is the chief reason why more ought to be attempted. To achieve still greater results what would seem to be needed is precisely what your Association aims to do. Unification and co-ordination of educational work, so that a complete and perfect system shall exist, based on the strong and broad foundation of good parochial schools, the superstructure consisting of well and highly perfected academies, colleges, seminaries and under-graduate universities, all culminating in the Institution, the foundation of which our Holy Father counts as one of the glories of his Pontificate, are, it would seem to me the thing most to be desired at present to enable the Catholic efforts to cope successfully with those being made by secular or sectarian forces.

"It is only by such co-ordination that the desired elevation in standard can be brought about. The time should be hastened when an academic degree conferred by a Catholic institution in this country shall be equal in all respects to one conferred by any other, and when this equality

shall be recognized by all. We live in times when natural values are appreciated first. Catholic education, it is true, offers first, and as most important, supernatural value. This it must and shall always continue to do. But there is no reason why it should not offer at the same time a natural value equal to and surpassing that which non-Catholic education can possibly hope to offer. Let Catholic educators, then, unite their strength and it will not be long before we shall have a system in this country which will give to our young men results which they can find nowhere else—diplomas and degrees which are equal, even superior in value to those obtained in the same grades of other institutions, up to university degrees which no other institution could dream of presenting. My earnest prayer is that God may bless every effort made in this country to further the interests of truly Catholic education.

“With sentiments of the highest esteem and fraternal charity, I remain fraternally yours in Christ.

“SEBASTIAN,
“Archbishop of Ephesus, Apostolic Delegate.”

LETTER OF CARDINAL GIBBONS.

“EASTER SUNDAY, 1901.

“MY DEAR MONSIGNOR: While I will be unable to attend your coming convention in Chicago, I avail myself of the occasion by renewing the expression of the deep interest I take in these annual reunions of some of the educational guides and the intellectual forces of the country.

“We cannot too much insist on the great advantages to be derived from concerted action on the part of our educational leaders. You give a strength and encouragement to each other. You stimulate honorable emulation and arouse a holy enthusiasm in the cause of education.

“By comparing notes and interchange of views you impart valuable information to one another. Above all, you unify your system and march with serried ranks in the great cause of Christian enlightenment.

“I hope that the coming convention will fully equal the preceding ones by the harmony of your deliberations and by the renewal within you of the spirit of your sublime vocation.

“Faithfully yours in Xt,
“J. CARDINAL GIBBONS.”

TWELFTH ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT.

The closing exercises of the academic year were held in McMahon Hall, Wednesday, June 5th. His Eminence, Cardinal Martinelli, presided. The German Ambassador, the Japanese Minister, the Mexican Minister and Madame Azpiroz, and the Brazilian Minister were seated with the Faculty upon the stage. There were also present District Commissioner Macfarland, Dean Hodgkins, of the Columbian University; Rev. J. P. Fagan, S. J., Vice-President of Georgetown University; Very Rev. Dr. A. L. Magnien, S. S., President of St. Mary's Seminary; Rev. F. X. Fink, S. J., President of Gonzaga College; Brother Abdas, President of St. John's College; Very Rev. V. Marijohn, C. S. B., Superior of St. Michael's College, Toronto, Canada, and many representatives of the local clergy. After a brief introductory address, the Right Rev. Rector, assisted by the Very Rev. Vice-Rector and acting as delegate of the Cardinal Chancellor, conferred the following degrees:

BACHELOR OF SCIENCE (B. S.).

Stanislaus von Prusinowski, Washington, D. C., Primaner, Real Gymnasium, Posen, Germany.

BACHELOR OF LAWS (LL. B.).

Frank Aloysius Brandy, Baltimore, Md.; James Arthur Conly, Wichita, Kan.; William Henry Kelly, A. B., Staunton, Va.; James Emmet King, A. B., St. Louis, Mo.; William Keene Naulty, A. B., Carthage, Mo.; Thomas Bernard O'Neill, A. B., Evanston, Wyo.; Abner Cloud Ritchie, A. B., Washington, D. C.; Clarke Waggaman, Washington, D. C.

MASTER OF LAWS (LL. M.).

Clarence Eugene Martin, LL. B., Martinsburg, W. Va. Dissertation: "Corporations: Their probable origin and subsequent development."

DOCTOR OF LAW (J. D.).

Keukichi Kodera, LL. B., LL. M., Kobe, Japan. Dissertation: "The Grecian Law."

Owen William Reddy, LL. B., LL. M., Newburyport, Mass. Dissertation: "Limitations of the Law of Expert Evidence."

Fukusaburo Yamada, LL. B., Yokohama, Japan. Dissertation: "A Comparison of the succession to the Headship of a house in the Japanese Law with legal succession in the Roman Law and Primogeniture in the English Law."

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph. M.).

Elmer Jerome Murphy, Litt. B., Bellevue, Iowa. Dissertation: "On the Ground for Development in English Drama."

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph. D.).

Arthur Adolph Vaschalde, S. T. B., S. T. L., Sandwich, Can. Dissertation: "The Unpublished Letters of Philoxenus: Text and Translations, preceded by an Introduction on the Life, Doctrine, and Works of Philoxenus, and followed by two Appendices."

BACHELOR IN SACRED THEOLOGY (S. T. B.).

Rev. Thomas Joseph Brennan, Archdiocese of San Francisco; Rev. Joseph Francis Dangelzer, S. M., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Joseph Lonis Duclos, S. M., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Thomas Matthew Farrell, A. B., A. M., Diocese of Albany; Rev. Thomas Joseph Gaffney, Archdiocese of Chicago; Rev. Yves Marie Hellet, S. M., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Nicholas Joseph Hengers, S. M., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Cornelius Joseph Holland, Diocese of Providence; Rev. Joseph Patrick Mackey, Archdiocese of San Francisco; Rev. Francis Joseph Mullin, Archdiocese of Boston; Rev. Thomas O'Reilly, Archdiocese of New York; Rev. Ernest Aloysius Pfleger, S. M., Washington, D. C.; Rev. George Stephen Rapier, S. M., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Alfred Joseph St. Martin, S. M., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Michael Joseph Walsh, Archdiocese of San Francisco; Rev. Nicholas Aloysius Weber, S. M., Washington, D. C.; Rev. George William Welch, Diocese of Springfield.

LICENTIATE IN SACRED THEOLOGY (S. T. L.).

Rev. Thomas Leo Barry, A. B., A. M., S. T. B., Diocese of Pittsburgh. Dissertation: "Image and Similitude: Its significance in Catholic Theology."

Rev. John Joseph Burke, C. S. P., A. B., S. T. B., New York. Dissertation: "The Moral Order: Some aspects of its harmony in Reason and Revelation."

Rev. Andrew Joseph Burns, A. B., A. M., S. T. B., Archdiocese of Chicago. Dissertation: "A Century of Irish Church History."

Rev. Patrick Leo Crayton, Ph. B., S. T. B., Archdiocese of Boston. Dissertation: "Divorce in the United States."

Rev. Francis Formaz, A. B., A. M., S. T. B., Diocese of Alton. Dissertation: "Infallibility of Scripture a Result of its Inspiration."

Rev. Michael Joseph McSorley, S. T. B., Archdiocese of Philadelphia. Dissertation: "Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis; a witness of Apostolic times to the Authenticity of the Four Gospels."

Rev. Francis Ignatius Purtell, S. T. B., Archdiocese of Philadelphia. Dissertation: "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Gospel of St. John."

Rev. John Thomas Stinson, A. B., S. T. B., Archdiocese of Boston. Dissertation: "True Liberty of Conscience."

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

The Richard Lalor Burtzell Scholarship.—Rev. Dr. Richard Lalor Burtzell, of Rondont, N. Y., has given to the University the sum of five thousand dollars to found a Scholarship in Theology. The University acknowledges with gratitude this priestly act of generosity and appreciation on the part of a distinguished scholar.

Gift from the Marquise de Merinville.—The foundress of the University has given further proof of her interest in the work by presenting to the Chapel in Caldwell Hall a beautiful set of vestments, her own artistic handiwork. They were used for the first time at the Solemn Mass on Trinity Sunday.

The Public Lectures on Gaelic Literature.—The lectures of Prof. F. N. Robinson (Harvard) aroused much interest and were largely attended. The following is a list of the subjects treated: April 15, "The Interest in Keltic and the Present State of Keltic Studies"; April 16, "Druidism and the Religion of the Ancient Kelts"; April 17, "The Elder Irish Saga Cycle—Cuchulainn—Hero Tales Centering About Cuchulainn"; April 18, "The Elder Irish Saga Cycle—Story of the Sons of Uisnech—Story of Deirdre from the earliest existing version down to the now current popular tales"; April 19, "The Later Irish Saga Cycle and the Ossianic Controversy—Influence of Keltic on English and Continental Writers."

The Baccalaureate Sermon for 1901.—The annual Baccalaureate Sermon was preached this year by Rev. Thomas J. O'Brien ('92), Superintendent of Schools in the Diocese of Brooklyn. The Mass was said by Very Rev. Godfrey Schilling, O. F. M., Superior Mount St. Sepulchre Monastery; Rev. Thomas L. Barry, S. T. L., of Pittsburg, was Deacon of the Mass, and Rev. Francis Purtell, of Philadelphia, Sub-Deacon.

Senate Resolutions on the Death of Monsignor McMahon.—The Academic Senate, at its session of June, adopted suitable resolutions concerning our deceased benefactor, Right Rev. James McMahon.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit.* c. 6.

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THE GHOST IN HAMLET.

The number of questions raised by Shakspeare's Hamlet have been legion ; but there can be no question as to the remote source of the play. It was the "Historie of Hamblet," attributed to Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote it as a chapter in the history of Denmark. It was translated into French by Belleforest, and "imprinted" in English "by Richard Bradocke, for Thomas Pauier," at his shop "in Corne-hill, neere to the Royall Exchange," London, 1608. To students who yearn to get at the meaning of the play, who are more interested in Shakspeare's work than in what he read or knew, it is of little moment whether he read the story of Hamlet in French or in English, or whether he drew it from an older drama than the one we find in the first and second quartos and the second folio. "The play's the thing."

It is quite evident that Shakspeare's Hamlet owes almost everything, except illumination, the inexplicable synthetic quality of genius, to the "Historie of Hamblet." A careful comparison will show this—though it will reveal the marvelous transformation which mere material takes in the hand of the artist ; as an example of the relations of the chronicler to the poet, the power of compilation to that of imaginative synthesis, and life to literature, it is even more apt than the study of the "Morte d'Arthur" of Sir Thomas Malory in connection with the "Idyls of the King."

There can be no doubt that Hamlet is the study of a mind, a study,—it seems absurd at this time in the life of the Tragedy to use an adjective to qualify it,—a consummate study of

a very delicate but not unbalanced mind. But since Goethe wrote, after the faint praise of Dryden and the neglect of so many years, it has been so much the fashion to strive to reach beyond this complete and adequate study, that those of the public who read about Shakspeare without reading his works, are justified in concluding that the author of Hamlet neglected his duty in not leaving a "key" to it. We have every reason to believe that the Elizabethans understood Hamlet; that they desired no lecturers to explain it before the scene at Elsinore opened, that it was not, in their opinions a problem play. Why, then, should it be so obscure to so many who express such unbounded and even ecstatic love for it, in our time? The motive and the action are entirely clear when not mutilated in their expression to suit the demands of the modern theatre. Naturally, a change has taken place in the point of view. Auditors of to-day do not look on the divinity that formerly hedged a king as a quality of daily life, but they expect in literature and on the stage a condition of virtue and self-sacrifice—altruism is the word—which is not usual in their thoughts in dealing with their every day relations with their neighbors. For instance the millionaire who forecloses a mortgage on the land of a struggling farmer is a monster in a novel or on the stage,—and poetry shudders at him; but in real life he dines with other persons who have hurled murderers to justice, pleaded in court for the vengeance of the law upon lesser offenders, and who would not hesitate to shoot in hot or cold blood the insulters or injurers of their fathers, mothers, wives or children. Of Hamlet the prince, whose father has been killed foully, whose mother has been stained and degraded in sight of his people, whose kingdom has been usurped, even by the election of the corrupt nobles and the connivance of that demoralized mother, the audience of to-day demands, as a matter of course, an excessive altruism based on Christian principles seldom applied in modern life to actual conditions. Hamlet's plain duty, in the tragedy, is to obey the command of his father's spirit. The Elizabethans saw it in this way. It was clear, according to their ethics, that Hamlet's struggle was a struggle against duty, not a virtuous

doubt as to whether it was right for him to destroy the clever, kingly, unscrupulous and subtle villain whose sin in marrying his brother's wife,—coupled with the rumor of a more horrible and secret crime,—darkened and threatened to curse the whole state of Denmark. Miss Fredericka Beardsley Gilchrist, in a remarkably frank and original interpretation of "The True Story of Hamlet and Ophelia," says¹ to the reader of Shakspeare, "He must be ready to believe that Shakspeare's text contains all the material needed to make the play intelligible, and he must seek for the meaning of the text, without considering what this or that commentator thinks about it. At the same time he must remember that play-goers of Shakspeare's day probably comprehended the drama perfectly, for they possessed a help to its understanding which we have not—the actors who portrayed it knew what Shakspeare intended them to portray. This the modern student must discern for himself, remembering always that the text, unless it has been hopelessly distorted, is subject to the same interpretation now as then."

The modern student receives, as a rule, very little help from the modern actor, who arranges Shakspeare's plays to suit his special powers, and who does not hesitate to "adapt" speeches and to cut out such passages as he chooses. It is not to the theatre that the student must go for aid, but to Hamlet itself, as seen in the text collated by the help of the two quartos and the first folio. He will find certain inconsistencies, some merely apparent because of his lack of ability to project himself into Elizabethan and Jacobean England. This lack of ability is not confined to the student, but to the commentators whom he, often in spite of his own better judgment, or, rather, his instinct, follows.

One of the most flagrant examples of this blind following of the opinions of others is shown in the varying comments on the position of the Ghost—a most important one in Hamlet. It did not surprise the English of the beginning of the seventeenth century that the murdered king should come from the state of purgation in which most Englishmen still believed.

¹ Boston : Little, Brown and Co., 1889.

It is impossible to kill the vital opinions of a nation by mere edicts, and the announcement of King Hamlet that he had been murdered without chance of confession, with his sins upon his soul, did not imply, as it would have to the Puritan mind, that he was either in heaven or hell. He was in the middle state, suffering terribly, knowing, too, that his beloved kingdom of Denmark was in the grip of a monstrous usurper, and that, if his son were not awakened to the danger of the moment, his dynasty must pass, perhaps, forever from the throne. The auditors, in Shakspeare's time, took the Ghost seriously. He was not merely a piece of perfunctory stage machinery; he was the better part of a good man—not a saintly man—and of a noble king. He had sinned, but he had not died in mortal sin; he was suffering in purging fire, with the torment of an awful secret upon him, foreknowing that, as a king and a patriot, he ought reveal this secret to the Prince, his son. He must be mute by day, but at night, he may speak, and he may not reveal too much. Let us observe how the mission and message of the Ghost, are, as a rule, treated. King Hamlet is "necessary to the play"—that is all! The Ghost is a stock figure in the dramas of the group of writers to which Shakspeare belonged, that is all! He demands revenge from a son too moral and "modern-minded" to accept his dictum of spirit, and that is all. These conclusions are either frivolous or foolish. And yet, unless the character of the Ghost be made consistent with the Christian traditions of the time, they must be accepted. If we accept them, the drama becomes both frivolous and foolish; but, as it is one of the most solemn and sublime emanations of human genius, they cannot be accepted.

The Ghost is not a mere theatrical figure. Hamlet is not a modern altruist, analyzing his mind from the point of view of Mr. Henry James and frightened by the blood-thirsty demands of his father. King Hamlet had been a creature of flesh and blood, and he spoke in deadly earnest, for the salvation of his kingdom, for the punishment of sin, to his son, the heir of that kingdom, the Prince of Denmark, who, on his mother's death, should be king. That other theory that the Ghost was

an illusion is dispersed very carefully in the beginning of the play. With his usual skill in making the intention of the situation clear, Shakspeare converts Horatio from a doubter to a believer fully convinced. The Ghost might be the illusion of an overwrought mind, in the awful scene between the mother and son, when the example of Nero and Agrippina is only too near Hamlet's vengeful mind; but the whole spirit of the tragedy is against that supposition. Whatever might be said in its favor should, however, be considered; but the letter, the meaning, the movement of all the scenes in Hamlet leading to the revelation of the betrayed and assassinated king, in whose person the whole state of Denmark was betrayed and assassinated, show that the Ghost was a spirit, waiting, in suffering, to be cleansed of the stains of earth.

Saxo Grammaticus wrote the story of Hamlet in the twelfth century; the French translation appeared in 1570; the only edition we have of the English translation is put in 1608. Dr. Furnivall, in his preface to the "Leopold" Shakspeare, says, "We know well how all Scandinavian legend and history are full of the duty of revenge for a father's murder." This, however, would not have been enough to prevent the mission and message of the Ghost from shocking the moral sensibilities of the English people who loved to read Hamlet, as we see by the number of printed editions, as well as to see it acted. The scene was not put in a Pagan time, the sentiments of the play were not Pagan; the tone was much more of the sixteenth century than of the sixth; therefore, the fact that the "duty of revenge for a father's murder" was inculcated in Scandinavian literature would be insufficient, unless specially emphasized from a Pagan Scandinavian point of view, to arouse the unqualified sympathy of the English. It must be admitted that these Elizabethans, like their contemporary Spaniards and Italians, found nothing offensive in a mixture of Christian symbolism and Pagan mythology in their poems and plays; but the spectacle of a Christian king, lamenting his sinfulness, demanding the blood of his murderer for having cut him off from the consolations and helps of religion, could scarcely have pleased auditors who were neither irreverent nor unintelligent—nor does anything in Shakspeare's work warrant

the supposition that he would have presented such a contradiction. It has been suggested that Shakspeare's Hamlet, following the "*Historie of Hamblet*," mixed the Pagan with the Christian in matters more essential than mythological allusions, and it is true that the Hamblet of Saxo Grammaticus and Belleforest had two wives; but then, his chronicler says, he had not yet received the light of the gospel. The chronicler admires the Prince of Denmark extremely, though he was not a Christian, and he excuses his vengeance wreaked on his uncle Fengon (Shakspeare's Claudius), by examples from the Old Testament:

"If vengeance euer seemed to haue any shew of iustice, it is then, when pietie and affection constraineth vs to remember our fathers uniuertly mured, as the things wherby we are dispensed withal, & which seeke the means not to leane treason and murther vnppnished: seeing Dauid a holy & iust king, & of nature simple, courteous and debonaire, yet when he dyed he charged his sonne Salomon (that succeeded him in his throane) not to snffer certaine men that had done him iniurie to escape vnppnished: Not that this holy King (as then readie to dye, and to giue account before God of all his actions) was carefull or desirous of reuenge, bnt to leaue this example vnto us, that where the Prince or Country is interessed, the desire of reuenge cannot by any meanes (how small soeuer) beare the title of condemnation, bnt is rather commendable and worthy of praise: for otherwise the good kings of Inda, nor others had not pursued them to death, that had offended their predecessors, if God himselfe had not inspired and ingraun that desire within their hearts. Hereof the Athenian laws beare witnesse, whose custome was to erect Images in remembrance of those men that, reuenging the iniuries of the Common wealth, boldly massacred tyrants and such as troubled the peace and welfare of the Citizens."

This is the apology of a Christian chronicler for a pagan prince in which reasons of state, as well as filial piety, are cited. But the means by which Shakspeare's Hamlet discerns the murder and incest of his uncle are different from the means named in the "*Historie of Hamblet*." No ghost appears in the *Historie*, though it is hinted that Hamblet the Pagan was wise in divination, and that "it would seem miraculus yr Hamblet shold divine in yt sort, which often prooned so true (y as I said before,) the diuel had not knowledge of things past, but

to grant it he knoweth things to come,"—this Hamlet having been instructed in the devilish art whereby "the wicked spirit abuseth mankind, and advertiseth him, (as he cau) of things past."

In Shakspeare's Hamlet, no such education in deviltry is suggested. Hamlet has thought deeply at Wittenberg, where free thought was the fashion, but he has not attempted, like Benvenuto Cellini, to raise spirits. And Shakspeare fills the Ghost with so much pathos, with such nobility, that it is evident that he speaks not to deceive; he has no connection with the arts of the devil, though at times his son doubts him. To the eyes of the Christian,—let us take the position of the translators of the *Historie*, for example,—the spectacle of a Christian son urged to personal vengeance by a Christian father, who hopes for heaven,—would be abhorrent; and the Elizabethans, who, if we may judge by the dramas they loved best, insisted on high ideals, would not have tolerated it. Whatever may be said of the drama in general, one thing is certain,—the successful play must have the sympathy of the audience; it is sure, then, that Hamlet,—one of the most successful of Shakspeare's plays, had that sympathy. And that Shakspeare deliberately maintained it by exalting the mission of the Ghost to the utmost is equally sure.

In the "*Historie*," Geruth—the Gertrude of Hamlet—has fallen before her husband's death,—her crime is "incestuous," as it is with Shakspeare, who permits us to believe that Gertrude did not sin until after her husband's death. It is the same incest that Henry VIII, in his delicate scrupulosity, insisted that he had committed because his brother Henry had been husband to Queen Katharine. The matter needed no explanation to the citizens of London under Elizabeth or James I. The whole subject had been, and still was, a matter of moment concerned much with the state of the realm. Both Church and State in England still held the Roman traditions about marriage, though they had ostensibly rejected its sacramental character. The sin of Claudius and the Queen, the corruption of the Court, the melancholy of the young Hamlet, the evil rumors of the taking off of the King—all these things

prepared men's minds for strange apparitions, and even the valiant soldiers guarding the court were expectant that some solemn or horrible event, on which they had brooded during long winter nights, would happen, betokening evil, at Elsinore. The soldiers, who fear nothing of flesh and blood, tremble at every shadow. There has been talk of a walking spirit—the spirit of a righteous King fearing some ill that threatens his kingdom. Francisco is on guard, just before the dawn, on this night in the late winter. Mystery is in the air. The kingdom is alive with warlike preparations. Are the people about to rise against Claudius, who has wedded his brother's wife with unseemly and indecent haste, and been named King, doubtless at her request, with equally indecent haste? The Prince Hamlet, bereft of his rightful place, has proposed to lead no revolt—his few intimates about the court knew—though many outside who love him would be ready to follow him. There are many, indeed, out and in the court, ready to rid the country of the politic Claudius, who holds his throne by diplomacy and the favor of the Queen. Thinking of what may happen, in this sin-stained land—for the marriage of Claudius and the Queen is incestuous, not only in the minds of the Danes, but in the minds of the auditors in London—Francisco, stands, waiting for the guard to relieve him. Bernardo comes, and just then there is no glimpse of the moon through the darkened air. He is afraid of no earthly thing; but the figure of the sentinel, panoplied in guise of war—for so King Hamlet has appeared—startles him. Instead of waiting for his comrade's challenge, he calls out, almost tremulously, "Who's there?" Francisco rebukes this breach of military usage. "Nay, answer *me*," he calls, "stand and unfold yourself." Much relieved by the sound of this human voice, he answers naturally, "Long live the King!" To which Francisco, who has doubtless had his own fears, says doubtfully :

"Bernardo?"

"He!"

Francisco no longer doubting, praises his promptness. Bernardo, the man on duty, says, with a sigh,

"'Tis now struck twelve ; get thee to bed, Francisco."

"For this relief much thanks ; 'tis bitter cold,
And I am sick at heart."

Bernardo is not heartened by this ; he knows that neither the fear of battle nor of sudden death ever made Francisco "sick at heart," but there are things not of earth that make the bravest heart sick at thoughts of them. He does not want to be alone. He asks Francisco to hasten, on his way to bed, the coming of the companions of his watch, Horatio and Marcellus. Happily, they arrive before Francisco goes away. Marcellus asks Bernardo at once about the Ghost, which is uppermost in all their minds, except in that of the well-balanced Horatio. Bernardo is glad to say that he has seen nothing ; and here Shakspeare makes sure that the auditors shall understand that the ghost is no illusion. "Tush, tush, 'twill not appear," the doubting but tolerant Horatio says. It does appear, however. Horatio trembles and looks pale.

"Before my God I might not this believe,
Without the sensible and true avouch
Of mine own eyes."

Horatio is not a man to be easily deceived. At every opportunity Shakspeare takes occasion to show that. Another thing that Shakspeare makes plain by every possible emphasis is that King Hamlet comes, not so much on a personal mission, as on a mission for the salvation of Denmark. He comes as the Royal Dane, the defender of his kingdom, clad in all the panoply of a warrior king ; he bears the truncheon, the symbol of kingly power,—not "in his habit as he lived" as man,—not as he slept in the garden, after dinner, or as he had jested with his little son and Yorick. He does not come in the easy garb in which he was murdered, to show himself disfigured by the poison to Hamlet, and to excite his anger. The state is wounded in his royal person. To paraphrase Louis XIV., "l'état, c'est lui." In striking him Claudius had struck down religion, truth, loyalty, the very essence and flower of law and order. He was the anointed king of the Danes, as James I. was the anointed king and lord of the Britons,—and the Britons were not permitted to forget that

the chrism had touched that royal brow. It was not necessary to explain the situation to them. It was the sacred right and duty of a most Christian king to put upon his heir the burden of justice. Vengeance might be the term used, but it was vengeance in the Scriptural sense, "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, and I will repay." The murdered king had no need to summon a jury; he was the instrument of the Lord; vindictive justice was righteous justice. Bound for his sins to silence, he suffers more than the agony of the purging fire, and when his chance comes, the king and the man, the patriot and the father struggle with each other in the ineffectual human speech he is obliged to use. He cannot speak as a spirit to a spirit; he must speak as a man to a man, and he speaks by symbols as well as words. Marcellus asks:

"Is it not like the king?

Horatio. As thou art to thyself:

Such was the very armour he had on
When he the ambitious Norway combated;
So frowned he once, when, in an angry parle,
He smote the sledded Polacks on the ice.
'Tis strange."

Marcellus. Thus, twice before, and just at this dead hour,
With martial stalk hath he gone by our watch.

Horatio. In what particular thought to work I know not;
But in the gross and scope of my opinion,
This bodes some strange eruption to our state."

The first,—and evidently the logical and natural thought,—that strikes Horatio is that the appearance of this figure portends danger to the state. There have been warlike preparations, for young Fortinbras,—the antithesis of Hamlet,—is threatening the frontier,—knowing no doubt of the rottenness within, having wisely chosen his opportunity.

———"this portentous figure,"

as Bernardo says—

"Comes armed through our watch, so like the king
That was and is the question of these wars."

Horatio, a scholar, versed in the language of exorcism, and

the natural leader of those about him, makes the sign of the cross before it. He appeals as a Christian and patriot to it.

"Stay, illusion,
If thou hast any sound or use of voice,
Speak to me ;
If there be any good thing to be done,
That may to thee do ease and grace to me,
Speak to me ;
If thou art privy to thy country's fate,
Which, happily, foreknowing, may avoid,
O, speak !
Or if thou hast uphoarded in thy life,
Extorted treasure in the womb of earth
For which, they say, you spirits oft walk in death,
Speak of it."

The cock crows ; the spirit fades from human sight, and Horatio feels that the mystical creature will talk only to young Hamlet.

Later, Hamlet speaks to Horatio of his father, and in his scorn of his mother's neglect of that noble shade and in his tenderness, says that his picture comes that very moment to his mind. He speaks as any sorrowing son would speak ; his father is before him ; but he does not pretend that it is the spirit of his father. There is no delusion ; Hamlet is not insane at any time, and his amazement is great when Horatio, whom of all men he can not doubt, says, still emphasizing the martial and kingly bearing of the Ghost :

* * * "A figure like your father,
Armed at point, exactly, cap-a-pié,
Appears before them, and with solemn march
Goes slow and stately by them : thrice he walked
By their oppress'd and fear-surprised eyes,
Within his truncheon's length."

The accent on the military appearance of the King is deepened.

"Arm'd," asks Hamlet, "arm'd, say you."
"Arm'd, my Lord."
"From top to toe?"
"My Lord, from head to foot."

Hamlet asks other terse, intense questions.

“My father’s spirit in arms; all is not well;
I doubt some foul play, would the night were come!”
Till then sit still, my soul; foul deeds will rise,
Though all the earth o’erwhelm them, to men’s eyes!”

To Hamlet, of a fine nature, but not of the stuff of which kings are made, the appearance of his father’s spirit has merely a personal significance; and his failure—for the climax of tragedy in the play is not the death of Hamlet, but his failure—to understand the high and noble mission of the suffering King is the cause of the ruin that comes on all, except Horatio. Horatio and Fortinbras are brave and simple. Fortinbras is thoughtlessly resolute and straightforward; a straight line is his model. Horatio is more sophisticated, a higher type, but once convinced, he acts; once convinced, he has neither scruples nor doubts. The simple faith of Fortinbras gains Denmark for him; the lack of complexity in Horatio makes him the one sane, strong man in the tragedy. Horatio thinks of his country and of his duty to it; Hamlet’s outlook does not go beyond his own mind and heart. The horrible revelation of his mother’s fall drives him almost mad—for he revered and loved her as immaculate.

Denmark must be purged; the Ghost dwells on the details of the foul crime, that Denmark may not be the chosen place of “luxury and damned incest.”

“But, howsoever thou pursuest this act
Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive
Against thy mother aught, leave her to heaven
And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge
To prick and sting her.”

Hamlet, left alone, calls on the powers of heaven and earth. “And shall I couple hell?” he asks, and, for the moment, rejects the temptation. He believes that this is the spirit of his father, King and Royal Dane; but he accepts the mission as one of personal vengeance; he begins at once “to taint his mind” with thoughts of revenge, not only on Claudius, but on Queen Gertrude,—for the instant his thoughts are as hellish as those of Nero planning the death of Agrippina.

He vows himself,—sweeping away ambition, and the love of Ophelia, who cannot be pure since the noblest of women is impure,—to vengeance. He is not the Prince, the heir of the kingdom, the saviour of his country, but the wronged man threatening to return evil for evil. The Ghost can speak no more to him, for the day is near. The wounded heart of the man had neutralized the cry for justice of the King; but, it was too late; he could say no more, but only “Taint not thy mind.” The action was now with Hamlet, and Hamlet,

“Sicklied o’er with the pale cast of thought,”—

of the philosophic doubt of Wittenberg,—is not great enough to understand. He is “prompted to his revenge by heaven and hell,” he says. Fortinbras looks on his mission as prompted by heaven, as part of his duty to a father slain. Horatio would have seen the welfare of his kingdom at stake; but doubt makes Hamlet weak. He trusts Horatio only; he has no faith in the love of the people for him,—that very people waiting, as we see at the revolt of the ever-beloved Laertes,—to follow any brave man against the incestuous king. Hamlet hesitates; the spirit may be the devil, who may have assumed this pleasing shape to lead him to damnation, as the evil one is potent with melancholy minds,—and Hamlet fears his own “weakness and melancholy.” He must have another test; he must prove the truth of the Ghost, for he is not strong enough to believe. That test he applies, all the while hanging on a revenge prompted alike by heaven and hell. Why should he have coupled hell with the duty of a prince and the sorrows of a son? The Ghost has not urged him to league himself with evil. He has not asked him to kill Claudius in hot blood or to compass his ruin by intrigues. The truth is that Hamlet is not noble enough to interpret the message of his father. It is folly to overload the situation of Hamlet with arguments drawn from the theologians. Shakspeare was not a scientific theologian. In the mood of men of his time, who hoped for heaven and feared hell, it was the duty of a man to bring the murderer of another to justice,—much more so the duty of a prince to bring the assassin of a kingly father to justice. Claudius

had placed himself beyond the law, and the pitiful heavens themselves shuddered at his crimes which cried aloud for vengeance. As a person, Hamlet might have forgiven Claudius and bade him go his way and sin no more, as the Ghost charitably forgives Gertrude, thinking only of the salvation of her "fighting soul." The Ghost has no doubt of his right to command his son to punish the monster who has deprived him of his human personality and who is corrupting the kingdom. The Ghost, to the auditors at the theatre in London, represented the State; he was the anointed king demanding justice for sacrilege, providing for the peace of the kingdom, and the life even of the rightful heir. The Ghost does not ask Hamlet to kill for the mere pleasure of killing; he does not desire the loss of the soul of his enemy, though this enemy has killed a king and married with his wife. The Ghost speaks as a king; his woe and agony are poured almost involuntarily into the ear of his amazed son; and, after he has cried out for vindictive justice, he remembers perhaps that he may be misunderstood and whispers to the Prince,

"Taint not thy mind."

That Hamlet's test by the play confirms the truth of the message of the Ghost we know, and that he delays action we know. We can imagine how Fortinbras or even the half-corrupted Laertes would have acted at this time. Horatio would have understood the Ghost's words as bidding him deprive the usurper of the throne and save the Queen from the worst in her. He would not have doubted nor would he have let hate so overmaster him as to desire to destroy the very soul of the usurper of the throne. It would have sufficed for him to know that Claudius was the regicide, the enemy of society, the outlaw, and he would have acted in accordance with the accepted principles of justice. Having received the perturbed spirit as that of the King he would have doubted no more. Evidence he would doubtless have collected for its value to others, but he would have needed no other testimony to add to the avouchment of his own eyes. As to hell, or hatred which is of hell, or the satisfaction of this hatred, it would have been cast aside. Fortinbras would have attacked the King and his court at once with a band of

resolutes ; Laertes would have hated and raised the people. Hamlet, doubting still, hates and hesitates. He spares the King for fear that Claudius, dying at prayer, may not be damned ; the powers of hell possess his soul ; he forgets the noble part of the message. He rushes to his mother to accuse her.

———"let not ever

The soul of Nero enter this firm bosom,

Let me be cruel, not unnatural !"

His heart has been filled with thoughts of murder, in spite of the strict command of his father, to be tender with her. When she fears that he will kill her and voices her fear, Polonius calls for help and is killed, like a rat behind the arras. Impatiently, urged by passion, Hamlet would have cut the knot which he had not sufficient strength to unweave. He is passion's slave ; passion has made him tardy ; he has doubted and raved, and longed to taste the sweetness of satiated hatred, yet never dared to strike. It is passion or doubt, or doubt or passion—whichever is uppermost—that has frozen action. He has killed and he wills to kill ; he is not the Prince seeking justice for a crime against the nation, but a mere individual not even justifying the means by the end ; he knows the end is bad ; he believes at times that the Ghost was the devil, and he accepts his message devilishly. Out of his weakness, he has coupled hell with heaven and earth ; out of his weakness and passion comes the murder of Polonius. The purpose the Ghost proposed, as Royal Dane, guardian and protector of the kingdom, is blunted by the sleet of undisciplined rage. He delights in torturing his mother. The great heart of the King can not endure this ; he sees that his son has lost sight, in the storm and stress of rage, of the message of justice and righteousness. He merely mutters and raves against Claudius ; he cries out, in bitter and personal scorn against him ; he raves ; he contemns—he is a vengeful boy, not a just Prince. "A king of shreds and patches !" he exclaims ; he knows how to use words. Then comes the piteous Ghost, stricken, tortured, not now in the panoply of the King, truncheoned, majestic, but "in his habit as he lived." He appeals to Hamlet's

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nobler self, for the real purpose of his midnight mission, and for the Queen.

“O step between her and her fighting soul!”

Hamlet is called from hell; under the influence of the Ghost's words, he urges the Queen to repentance:

“O Hamlet, thou has cleft my heart in twain.”

“O, throw away the worser part of it,

And live the purer with the other half.”

In the moment, Hamlet is almost worthy of his father. His speeches to his mother, after the departure of the Ghost, show the Christian in the man; the manner in which he reasons for the Queen shows that, when he sins he sins not through ignorance; for a closer grasp of the ethics of repentance there could not be. But he has fixed his thoughts on the mere killing of Claudius, and a mind, so overscrupulous, so delicate as his, shrinks, after all is said, from murder, when he must act though he refuses to grasp the high meaning of his mission. He is not great enough, faithful enough, simple enough to be Denmark saving Denmark; he is only “I, Hamlet—I, Hamlet the man.” He will be forced to England with traitors and assassins, rather than act; he will intrigue—meet craft with craft rather than appeal to the people—a people to whom belief in spirits is not foreign,—and, releasing Horatio and Marcellus and Bernardo from their oath, tell the whole truth to the Danes who already distrust Claudius and admire the younger Hamlet. He distrusts the people. His mother has failed him, Ophelia has been made the tool of her father—frailty and woman—falsehood and man! He will trust only himself; but he doubts all things, even himself. He thinks of the bravery of Fortinbras, moving on Claudius and Denmark with all odds apparently against him, to restore the honor of his name and country. “Examples gross as earth exhort him.” If he would be royal, if he would be grandly noble, if he could conceive for an instant what his destiny should be, if he could soar above the Ego, if his doubt did not stand in the way of his desiring real happiness and per-

fection, he would not work the ruin of all about him ; for even Horatio's heart must be blasted by Hamlet's failure. Doubt has blinded him ; he can not see beyond his subjective small world ; his mind is a kingdom in which he is a mere subject. He can not be great and he can not be base. He can not accept the high and he will not unreservedly accept the low. Heaven dazzles him and hell affrights him, and he is too fine to be content with earth. He knows now the worst of the King and Queen ; he has tested them, and the word of the Ghost is corroborated, and yet he can only say, after he has tried to reason himself into fury :

"O, from this time forth,
My thoughts be bloody, or be nothing worth."

The voyage to England proves to him that he must settle the matter with his uncle finally or die. Conscience, speaking to him who coupled hell with a message that seemed to come from heaven, has made him a coward ; but now he can act as a man, for he must kill Claudius in self-defense. He had cruelly hoist Rosencrantz and Guildenstern by their own petard. Through him, they have gone to their death. Still he talks about "conscience" ; he makes variations on the "me" and "my." He has sufficient cause and sufficient proof for ridding Denmark of Claudius ; but he is still uncertain, although he thus speaks of Claudius :

"Popp'd in between the election and my hopes,
Thrown out his angle for my proper life,
And with such cozenage,—is't not perfect conscience,
To quit him with this arm? and is't not to be damned,
To let this canker of our nature come to further evil?"

Horatio implies that the time is short ; the opportunity must come soon,—or Claudius may strike foul.

Hamlet says,—

"It will be short ; the interim is mine,
And a man's life is no more than to say 'One'."

Hamlet, weak as usual, though now he knows what the mission of the Ghost was, since he sees in Claudius "the

canker of our nature'' and of Denmark, allows himself to be trapped; he is diverted from his purpose: he dies, and his dynasty dies with him. Fortinbras, who believes and acts, enters triumphant, and the mission of the Ghost fails, because he who should have been a Prince at heart was only a Prince in name. Doubting, he coupled hell with heaven and earth, and so, like his nobler father, he died unsatisfied—happier, however, than the elder Hamlet in one thing only; his last message reached ears capable of understanding it.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

THE LANGUAGE OF EVOLUTION—I.

Words have an independent force and strength of their own quite apart from the ideas which they are made to register and convey. Their very structure, their associations, their imagery, their power to express a tangled situation tersely, or to hide its real difficulties under a brilliant figure of speech, or yet again to fasten attention on some salient or unimportant feature to the exclusion of aught else, must be reckoned with as exercising a distinct, and not infrequently a misleading influence on the formation and trend of human thought.

John Buridan, one of the early rectors of the University of Paris, was a man of no mean parts. Yet he is best remembered by the fabricated story of the donkey that starved to death between two equally enticing bundles of hay, because there was not forsooth an extra wisp in either to overcome his indifference to both. The schoolmen knew how to think well and wisely. Yet the word "scholastic" calls up in the minds of many only the odd problem of the number of angels who could dance on the point of a needle without jostling. Students of history are apt to be misled by names, epigrams, or "vignettes in words" such as the preceding. An immortality of infamy, or of glory undeserved, has been more than once conferred on men by a single phrase.

Our American history affords too plentiful an instance of epithets, sobriquets, and nicknames impartially bestowed upon states and statesmen alike, and turned to good account politically as rallying-cries, or as effective means of ridicule, to have the lesson of the independent strength and force of words wholly lost upon us. Not the least felicitous examples might be drawn from recent political history, but this would bring us too far afield.

It thus not infrequently happens, that a phrase is identified with a situation, and a word mistaken for a thing. The mind unconsciously transfers the associations that cling about the phrasing to the persons or things which the phrases have been

made to fit, and straightway stops analyzing the objective case in point to rest contentedly in some happy verbal characterization of it. The language employed may thus contribute a fair share of irrelevant material which the mind will proceed at once to draw out into definite shape as solemnly as if it were indeed engaged upon a piece of profound and real analysis, such is the ease with which accidents of language may be transformed into attributes of things.

Nor is the liability to mistake verbal analyses for real wholly confined to what we are pleased to call "the plain man's consciousness;" it is very evenly distributed over minds that are highly educated as well as over those that are deemed "plain." The agnostic placidly derives his notion of the absolute, or "the utterly unrelated," from an analysis of the word itself, and then turns about to show that the meaning which etymology attaches to the term, is inconceivable, or unimaginable. Had he made an objective analysis, to begin with, and not a verbal one, he would have readily discovered that the only relation which reflex reason conceives the absolute to exclude of necessity is that of real dependence; and furthermore, that the stiff, unsympathetic, abstract fiction which etymology conjures up in the guise of the absolute is not the product of our reflection on the nature of things, but merely the result of an extreme verbal analysis which states what the word itself structurally implies.

Nor would the agnostic be so inclined to reconstruct thought from language and to condemn ideas as anthropomorphic because the phraseology in which they are wrapped happens to be such, if he paused for a moment to consider, whether or no, language may fairly be taken for an accurate transcription of human thought. Without enlarging further upon this topic, one may not fail to appreciate the power which words still have, even with the most favored, to become substitutes for things and the ground of ideas, and how material that is very dubious may be used to good purpose in system-building. A glittering sophism, which, if couched in a few words, would betray its weakness, judiciously spread over several hundred pages escapes detection and attains to respectability at once.

The problem of the relations between thought and language is further complicated by the necessity of seeking physical and sensible images to give color to the expression of the facts of our inner mental life. The words which we employ to express even the highest spiritual conceptions have about them some lingering remnant of association with the things of sense, which they were originally invented to characterize and designate. We stammer out our higher thoughts in a language borrowed from our physical environment, and are compelled to fit and adapt old words to new meanings constantly.

The growth of ideas is more rapid than the growth of language, and this unprogressive feature is likely to beget either a mistrust of all conceptions which cannot be vividly portrayed in words, or an over-confidence in the similes, analogies and comparisons necessitated by the poverty of human speech. From the fact that the philosopher and the scientist as well as the poet are forever engaged in ferreting out images and analogies in the physical world to parallel the facts in the world of ideas, the inference is quite natural that the physical is paramount, and the mental its shadowy projection. It is to the shortcomings of language, which compel us betimes to express positive thoughts in such negative words as "infinite" and "immaterial" that the agnostic's fling at the theist's "bundle of negations personified as God" owes its alluring strength as an objection. If speech were fully fitted to thought, it could never have occurred.

It is the fashion to-day to translate directly into the more vivid language of physics, biology and natural history the whole assemblage of the world's wonders, and to consider the riddle of existence solved, once the varied phenomena of life, whether intellectual, moral, social or religious, are expressed in the common terms of matter, motion, energy and organism. The ease with which one and the same expression lends itself indifferently to several finer shades of meaning, while still continuing to preserve its structural identity and to transmit the same familiar sound to the ear, contributes largely to the success of this method. The elasticity of phrases and formulae, which enables them to be stretched indefinitely from the coursing of the stars to the understanding of man, affords a falla-

cious sense of unity that has been appropriately called "pseudo-simplicity." Verbal identities serve to conceal, if not actually to cancel, all real distinctions and differences in the universe. The comprehensiveness of language is mistaken for insight into the central unity of things.

The analogies and affinities which pervade the whole domain of nature as a vastly interwoven network, when summarized in a few all-embracing formulae, make easy the persuasion, owing to the unity of the expression, that the universe is some sort of a redistribution of matter in motion, or an original organism slowly unfolded into the actualities of the present. A certain group of facts—the biological—is singled out as typical, and the language of biology, interspersed with that of physics, is forced upon all the other groups of facts, including the religious and the moral.

This attempt to condense several divergent orders of fact into a number of sweeping formulae, and to judge of all exclusively from the point of view of the animal kingdom and its development, or from that of molecular physics, will "bear careful watching;" for a method of this kind is sure to confound what is distinctive and proper with what is common and analogical, or metaphorical only; and phrases that will explain everything equally well must needs be vague and general, and, therefore, fully explanatory of nothing in particular. It is the method of philosophical "trimming." The differences made to disappear by the use of the common noun "organism," serenely bob up again in the particular adjectives "animal," "social" and "religious," and we end where we should have begun. There is more in life than can be conveniently packed in a biological analogy. "*Naturam expellas furca tamen usque recurret.*"

It will be seen further on that the endeavor to make the social, moral and religious nature of man expressible in terms of the physical and biological has resulted, as might be expected, in an excessive use of metaphor. Figures of speech implied in the phrases "natural selection," "heredity," "race experience," "solidarity," "transformation of species," "reversion to primitive types," "equilibrium," "lines of least resistance," "vibrations," and others of like import, have

been seriously taken for analyses of things, and their largely, if not wholly, subjective and verbal character lost sight of. The exegesis of this figurative language is so full of suggestion, and so pertinent, at first sight, to the cases to which it is applied, that it readily passes for the profoundest discovery of genius, and leaves nothing further to be desired. It is to these "masking" metaphors that the plausibility of many current explanations of life is due. The associations of words, the captivating charm of loose analogies and alluring tropes frequently take the place of a direct study of facts in their isolation.

It would form matter for a separate treatise, and be an interesting problem as well, to compute how great a part metaphor has played in influencing human judgment. Carlyle's argument against representative government was a contemptuous simile. No captain could ever hope to bring ship to port who found it necessary to call the crew together for consultation every time he wished to change his course. It is not often that metaphor, which always limps, has such a halting gait as this one; its defects are not worth pointing out. The parable of the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among robbers who stripped him of his goods, wounded him and left him for dead, if exegeted as a type of fallen man, as it was by some theologians, would lead to a reconstruction of man's state after the Fall quite out of keeping with the nature of the case. Metaphor is a necessary adjunct to human expression, and perfectly legitimate for purposes of illustration. It is only when metaphors are adduced as proofs or are mistaken for analysis of objects that they fall under criticism.

The foregoing paragraphs indicate the independent force of words; the liability to deception in their use; the danger of mistaking what is identical or distinct in word only for an identity or distinction to be found in nature; and the temptation to seek solutions in metaphors, analogies, and comparisons whenever direct analysis fails. It is in this latter respect especially that we manage to hide our ignorance successfully even from ourselves, and to shirk the difficulties of direct inquiry.

After this preliminary survey of the deceit of language, it may not be without interest to inquire into the more refined "verbal force" of current evolutionary explanations, and to attempt in some measure to disassociate their subjective and verbal influence from their objective and real value. On the result will depend the pertinence of the opening statement that language has an independent strength and force of its own which must be duly taken into account before we may form a just and critical estimate of the worth and value of the ideas conveyed by it. The nature of the criticism which follows will afford sufficient apology for this lengthy introduction.

The classic phrase of evolution, which calls for detailed consideration before all others, is natural selection. Although in no sense a first principle of human thought, but only the terse expression of a highly suggestive theory, it has heartened research and stimulated conjecture to such an extent that it may well be doubted if any phrase in the repertory comes even near to disputing its primacy as the parent-proposition of modern speculation. Originally the embodiment of a definite biological conception, it has been made a fertile source of ideas in other fields as well, such as anthropology, sociology, ethics and religion, until it may be said to precontain in germ almost all the evolutionary explanations now current.

Natural selection among varieties of offspring owes its origin as a phrase, if not as an idea, to Charles Darwin, who saw in it the explanation of the origin of species, and the distinctive factor in organic evolution. Impressed by the fact that more individuals are produced than can possibly survive, Darwin set about to discover the reason of this limited survival. He found it, to his own satisfaction at least, in an ever-varying modification of offspring which slowly brought about a corresponding increase in adaptation to environing conditions.

The tendency to increase in numbers beyond the bare means of living brought with it a keen competition, or struggle for existence, in which the growing advantages of modified structure, of better adapted organs, and of transmitted parental variations, increased the resisting capacity of a few beyond that of their less favorably equipped fellow strugglers, told

decidedly in favor of the fittest, and resulted in a killing-off of the unfit in consequence. Nature thus appeared to "select a variation" more and more in accord with environment and, consequently, more conducive to survival.

It was soon felt, however, that natural selection as thus understood by Mr. Darwin was a theory to account for the origin of adaptive structures rather than of species. To account for the rise of new species, cross breeding had to be prevented and sexual isolation secured by the gradual limitation of the reproductive process to individuals of a kind; otherwise the theory would work backward or forward equally well. Accordingly Catchpool and Romanes added the new factor of "physiological selection," or cross-sterility, to offset the possibility of reversion to parental types. The number of transmitted variations slowly increased, and as time wore on, became cross-sterile, or communicable only to individuals of like structural formation. The fixity of species thus came to be looked upon as a mere integration of inherited peculiarities no longer cross-fertile.

Many other factors have since been introduced, notably by Mr. Spencer, to fill out the inadequacy of the Darwinian view, and to enable it to cover a multitude of facts that show reluctance to fall within the range of its explanation. But they need not detain us here, the brief historical sketch which we have drawn sufficing amply for our present purpose. The underlying principle is the same in all the amendments as in the original motion, namely—the mechanical working of a necessary law of addition and subtraction which heaps up cosmic dust into molecules, groups the latter into bodies, kindles within these the spark of life, integrates variations into species, makes over feeling into mind and sympathetic choices into morality, dignifies evil as merely the arrested development of the good, and exhibits religion as the fossilized remains of prehistoric superstition. Let us see what a great share language has, and especially metaphor, in making this necessitarian philosophy acceptable.¹

¹ The principle of evolution, understood in a spiritualistic sense (Wallace and Mivart) must be carefully distinguished from the mechanical theories of selection and integration. (Darwin and Spencer.) The latter only are here made the subject of criticism; although decisive evidence is also lacking for the former, not to speak of its intrinsic difficulties.

The metaphor which gives force to the "selective hypothesis," lies in the vivid recall to mind of choice by a living agent, or, more explicitly still, in the clear reference to the breeder whose foreseeing skill in producing newer and more excellent varieties of animals, is a matter almost of common knowledge. It is all very easy and convenient to personify the matters and forces of the universe as "nature," and to transfer to the latter term, by means of the word "selection," all the associations which the production of superficial varieties within the same species, by means of human artifice, is sure to conjure up. Nature, in this wise, will be made to appear quite as ready to imitate art as art to imitate nature. Selective development will at once prove an able substitute for elective design, because the references to rational foresight implied in the nonn "selection," and secretly hidden by the adjective "natural," have power enough left, despite this verbal concealment, to recall to the mind the very design-idea which the phrase professedly aims at excluding.

We might digress here long enough to call attention to the anthropomorphic character of the idea beneath this consecrated phrase of selection, consisting, as it surely does, in conceiving nature man-fashion ; and thus hoist by their own petard those who return the compliment in kind to the theist when he happens to make use of such a phrase as the divine "personality." It will be sufficient, however, to remark in passing that if the selectionist had made his phrases "cross-sterile" as well as his "species," he would not have mixed his metaphor so ingeniously at the start, nor have so many "hybrid" conclusions at the close of his explanations.

Lest this be thought a quarrel of words, or an idle return to scholastic refinements in reasoning, or an ill-beseeming estimate, two quotations will prove reassuring. "Selection, as we know it," says the Duke of Argyle, "cannot make things." "It can only choose among materials already made and open to the exercise of choice. Therefore, selection, whether by man or by what men are pleased to call nature, can never account for the origin of anything." Hence Agassiz once said : "The phenomena of organic life have all the wealth and intricacy of the highest mental manifestations and none of the sim-

plicity of purely mechanical laws. Natural selection is so vague and metaphorical in its implications, so elastic that there is nothing in heaven or on earth that by a little ingenuity may not be brought under this pretended explanation. The explanation is simple: it was because of the captivating charm of a loose analogy."¹

"It is, indeed, one of the unhappy qualities of all the propositions of the selective hypothesis," says Professor Shaler, "that they have an appearance of certainty which leads the novice to feel that they hardly need verification."

"To all those who appreciate the real value of the Darwinian method of approaching organic problems this false certainty which comes with the statement of his views is a matter of regret, for the reason that it endangers their eventual place in the science which they are so well fitted to help. The reason for this peculiar position of the hypothesis is to be found in the singularly question-begging quality of the phrases which are *necessarily employed* in the statement of the proposition. The word "selection" implies an absolute choice, and the term "natural" apparently adds a quality of certainty to the action. We have to remember that the influences which make for or against the life of individuals and species are very numerous and complicated in their interactions. Occasionally the life of a species is terminated in some sudden and catastrophic manner. But commonly it passes slowly and as a consequence of a great array of actions. Further, we have to remember that in no immediate sense can there be any struggle for existence or survival of the fittest between two or more species; all such relations are between individuals. That these individuals happen to group themselves in an order of classification in our minds, in no important way affects the processes of their life and death. The interaction is between units."²

The misleading character of the phraseology needs no further comment. The verbal force of the selective hypothesis confessedly due to the "question-begging quality of the phrases

¹ Nineteenth Century. Vol. 41, pp. 337-401.

² The Individual, p. 44. 1901. Italics ours.

necessarily employed in the statement of the proposition'' produces a conviction stronger than the ideas would warrant. With a highly realistic terminology it is more commonly the rule than the exception to invest the abstractions of type and species with the dignity and prerogatives of real things, and to misapply the physical interactions that exist only for individuals to the mental units of classification which are wholly incapable of receiving them. And if, as is conceded, the struggle for existence or survival of the fittest be a purely individual affair, why not discuss the problem directly in terms of the individual, instead of complicating it by a set of phrases that belong to the universals of thought? The truth of the matter is that the selective hypothesis works decidedly ill without the favorite terminology which is its brawn and sinew. To realize this fully, we have only to write out the propositions of natural selection in terms of less associative strength, by excluding the language of mental classification, or by suppressing its realistic bias, and diligently note the result which follows on this exclusion, or suppression.

First of all, such phrases as "the transformation of species," and "struggle between species" must be disregarded; for the species is plainly of a logical nature, is really nothing apart from individuals—any more than is the square or échelon formed by a troupe of soldiery while manœuvring a detachable entity—and so cannot be said, save in looseness of speech, to be transformed physically. We must likewise disallow such language as "struggle between ideals" and "conflict of choices," for these are but personified abstractions; individuals struggle, not ideals. Next in order we must employ more warily the term "type," which is a logical entity that has migrated, like the term "species" of the evolutionist, from the region of mind to that of nature, despite the barriers that prevent thoughts from becoming things. It is an easy matter "to select a type" by simplifying reality down to certain common rudiments, to call this type, nonchalantly, a real original, and then to make it go through a set of modifications and changes after the manner of a thing. Similarly we should not be so ready with the phrase "primates, and their affinity" unless we bear in mind the while that what are low-

est on our mental scale of classification are not necessarily on this account to be considered climbing realities evolving into the beings which we happen to group higher.

Once these verbal factors are stricken out, or taken for what they are worth, namely question-begging epithets, the objective problem of the origin of things is cleared of the deceitful implications of language, and we are at once prepared to study it by a direct examination and analysis of the resembling and differing individuals which go to make up what we call nature ; and which, for matter of logical convenience, we may arrange into species, groups, types, series, or scales, provided we do not forget meanwhile that these latter are mental elements to be kept apart from, and not physical factors to be introduced into, the discussion of the problem of life's origin and development.

The arguments for evolution and selective development may then be dispassionately reviewed and their full measure taken. The invisible ether—that mysterious field in which physical phenomena take place—which Huxley considered as possibly the undifferentiated condition and source of all phenomena, and consequently as an empirical restatement of Aristotle's "prime matter ;" the facts of the conservation of energy and of the mutual convertibility of "forces" into terms of quantitative equivalence ; the defective analogies between protoplasm and water ; the story of the rocks, or geology, and the fossilized remains of the mould and marl of extinct life ; the geographical distribution of fauna and flora ; the similarity of organisms in the formation of analogous and homologous parts disclosed by biology, and the no less curious comparative list of cerebral structure and weight in different animals ; the striking fact in embryology that the higher animals pass through temporary stages in their growth not unlike in many respects the permanent conditions at which the lower animals stop ; and finally, as if to make assurance doubly sure, we may ponder at length the general resemblances that exist between the three great series of development, the geologic, organic, and embryonic, without, however, failing to take into due account the insurmountable barriers that divide all three.

The sum total of objective fact to reward all this inquiry

into the relationship and parentage of things is the supreme recognition that, in tracing the growth of organic forms along lines of descent, there is met with an ever-increasing variety, complexity, heterogeneity, and an ever-growing richness and fulness of adaptation to higher and still higher life ; so that the widespread varieties of individuals will readily fall into newer and still newer groups and be classified more especially in our thought.

There is nothing in the objective study of the proofs of evolution, or of selection, to establish the original identity of all these resembling individuals of nature in some one parent form, or to prove the thesis of the physical continuity of their descent. The uncolored facts are more suggestive of a vast network than of a simple ladder. It is still an open question that the peculiarities of plants, of animals, and of instincts may be the results of an original endowment by a producing and electing Designer, quite as well as mere matters of subsequent acquisition by the slow and gradual accumulation of numerous slight yet profitable variations due to selective development. Evolution in any sense, involves as much in the cause as is evolved in the effect, under pain of making something come from nothing. Yet it is confidently claimed that evolution is a fact, the only elements of conjecture in it being the details of its reconstruction.

It surely cannot be scientific heresy to hark back to Agassiz and to join with him in saying that the continuity between the various similars of nature is intellectual only, and neither causal nor physical ; that the productive cause of all varied what would otherwise have been a creation of universal monotony by increasing the original content of some individuals and by limiting the developing capacity of others. It is no escape to claim that such a view is supernatural and miraculous, the admission of a God external to nature, who interferes with its workings whenever it may chance to suit his caprice. To repose the constancy of nature not in things, but in the infinite source of them, is neither supernatural, nor miraculous ; for things are not by any stretch of reason self-explaining, and the only worthy conception of the Deity is that of a being immanent in, while yet not identical with, His created

manifestations. The miraculous and the supernatural—to use the latter in the objectionable sense of “the superstitious,” which it has nowadays—would rather be in the assumption that selection can originate anything, even the power or aptitude to select.

The inability of the selective hypothesis, or general evolutionary hypothesis for that matter, when relieved of its persuasive terminology, to turn out its conclusions with machine-like regularity, is plain to be seen. The purely subjective and verbal elements of “species” and “type” do not work their accustomed wonders of explanation, once we refuse to dress them up in the language of the physical and the real, and to speak of “species” or “type” as though either were in very truth an original something abiding throughout and beneath all change, and slowly evolving from the lower into the higher. A certain “all-alikeness” of individuals when labelled as the original type changes by the magic of the phrasing from an abstraction to a thing; and an equally certain “unalikeness” of individuals is easily construed into numerous variations from this physically embodied abstraction. The real plurality of the individuals sinks from view in the verbal unity of the “type” only to reappear in the figures of speech implied in the nouns “modification,” and “transformation,” so impressive is the art of calling up a picture by these physical epithets. Yet when we exercise sufficient insight to discern between what is subjective in thought and language from what is objective in fact and knowledge, we find the road to most selective explanations not worth the travelling, if indeed not actually barred. When this compound of logic and fact is resolved into its components, we are enabled to appreciate the facts, without the veil of speculation that has been thrown over them.

For the sake of illustrating this point, still further by contrast, let us restore the phraseology in common vogue in order to see how amazingly easy it is to make natural selection universally operative and efficient as an explanation by intermingling the elements of thought and language with the elements of things.

After grouping mentally, according to their respective

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structural, functional, or qualitative contents, the numerous individuals which nature exhibits on no level plain, but on a rising series bewildering in its variation; and after emphasizing the fact that throughout this whole series there is an approach of group to group so close as almost to leave no room for doubting that they bear the mutual relations of parent and child, we reduce the groups still further to certain common points of resemblance, which we immediately call "elementary" and "primary," as if the universe were to crumple back into these as its original antecedents by the mere magic of the naming. What survives this process of mental reduction and simplification, is of course, the entire sum of individual differences and peculiarities. These we proceed to dissociate and to parade off as consequents, appealing to time—which generally sets things right again that have gone awry—to make them emerge in due season from their appointed antecedents.

Having thus conveniently halved all reality into a nucleus of points of resemblance and a nucleus of points of difference, we calmly overlook the fact that the results reached are but two abstract summaries, or aspects of reality, and proceed to posit the first half as the primitive state of matter, which "contains the promise and potency of all terrestrial life," and which may be "integrated into anything desired by means of a judicious juxtaposition of the requisites."¹ We then drop

¹ "In the present state of our knowledge, or, as we had better say, ignorance of the conditions in which the passage from the inorganic to the organic was effected any apparently reasonable conjecture is warranted," says Professor Shaler (*The Individual*, p. 19, note). "I therefore venture the following suggestions: It is evident that the primal organism must have been formed in water, for there alone could such an association of materials as compose a single organic body have occurred or been perpetuated. It is very difficult to conceive how, in a primitive, lifeless sea, or in lakes and rivers, destitute of such organic matter, any water could have been found containing mineral matter in a sufficiently concentrated state to admit of the chemical processes necessary to the beginning of an organic structure. The only position where we can well conceive such a state of affairs to exist is in the cooling waters of a hot spring coming, perhaps, from lavas, or in a brook formed therefrom, where the fluid might be saturated with the substances derived from the rocks, which, owing to the cooling, would tend to be deposited. This hypothesis, be it understood, by no means explains the way in which these dissolved materials took on their organic form: it only provides for the gathering together of the elements necessary for the organization; in a word, it helps us only a little way toward the critical point where the essentially lifeless becomes truly alive."—This attempt to write out a recipe for the making of life out of non-living elements shows the length which selectionists will go in stretching the very slim analogy between protoplasm and water. The vital process is quite other than the chemical which accompanies it. Yet to the necessitarian thinker, all that is needed is a redistribution of the elements in such a way as to dispose them for life. The inorganic properly disposed will

all distinction between the simplified elements of thought and the complicated elements of reality, boldly adopt the language of realism, and speak of the resemblances as "abiding," "persistent," "primary," "indestructible," "homogeneous," "basic beginnings; and contrast the differences as "varying," "transitory," "secondary," "accumulating," "diverging," and "reverting," forms of early reality; they are the myriad changes undergone by our hypostasized type during the course of its unfolding, and so are said to abide throughout and under all the modifications that grow upon it.

Nothing further now remains but to formulate the "law of persistence" to characterize this abiding substratum of things, and the "law of progress of the whole" to cover the variations. A dual physical law is thus invented to govern the hybrid entity that has resulted from crossing abstractions with things. Not that there is no such thing as progress or variation. The law of variation and of progress, so far as it is a statement of facts biologically or otherwise observed, is scientific; but when made a law of universal change of one thing, or species, into another, is speculation pure and simple; for it expresses no fact of observation, but is only the extension of the analogy of cellular life to the whole domain of nature, or an attempt to see in the artificial and limited varieties produced by the breeder a clue to the origin of species, or of universal life.¹ Not the law, but the extent of its application is questioned. If we may be pardoned the use of a forensic simile, it is hard to see how an embryological law can be made to exercise a retroactive effect on all phenomena.

It is to the suggestiveness of these stretched analogies that

strike its own spark of life obligingly. Where the exigency is urgent the affirmation is easy. "I cross this barrier," says Huxley, "by an intellectual necessity." Very true. But the "intellectual necessity" is that of an hypothesis—Evolution—and it is certainly a most convenient mode of reasoning to appeal to an hypothesis to explain a difficulty when it is the hypothesis itself that is in question. "The point where the essentially lifeless becomes truly alive," looks very much like the realization of something out of nothing, and has no meaning for intelligence, whatever it may have for imagination.

¹ "I adopt Mr. Darwin's hypothesis, therefore, subject to the production of proof that physiological species may be produced by selective breeding." Mr. Huxley in "Evidences as to Man's Place in Nature," p. 108. Ed. 1863—All attempts to cross-breed physiological species have met with punitive sterility. This failure, however, is not taken for disproof, the assumption being that what does not occur now is no invalidation of what might have occurred in the past.

the search for "missing links," "transitional forms," "extinct intermediary species," and "bridges" is due; while one's inability to find them is somewhat relieved by the hypothetical source of comfort that, their office being merely to effect a transit, they accomplished their vocation with true self-sacrifice and must, in the nature of the case, have perished. If, therefore, we chance to discover resemblances to lower grades of life where they should not occur according to rule, we label them picturesquely as "atavism," "reversion to primitive types," "interfused species," "retrograde movements," and the difficulties are forever solved in an array of words. The physical character of the terminology hides the hypostasised class-terms and deceives us into thinking that we are sounding the deepermost depths of the knowable, and penetrating reality to the very marrow.

If, however, our confidence in the physical continuity and descent of things should waver, we are told to draw a vertical line down through the resemblances, and a horizontal line across the differences; or to imagine the resemblances as the trunk of a tree, and the differences as its branches projecting in all directions—a pair of question-begging metaphors that give the imagination something to play with while the intellect goes to sleep. Or, we are told to regard evolution not as steady, but as cyclic, wave succeeding wave of greater length and progressing ever further, not unlike the ever-widening rosette which a stone cast into the bosom of a pool sends continually shorewards.

But it may well be questioned if an appeal to lines, trees, and tides is strictly in order. These references are admirable expedients for keeping the case from coming up before the intellect for adjudication. And one may still doubt sorely whether the imagination—to pit simile against simile—be the proper tribunal to which to appeal finally, or even to try the case as the court of the first instance.

From all this it will be seen how conveniently many facts are made to mortise with the theory of natural selection by an indiscriminate use of the terms "species," "type," and "original." Nature selects a variation and exterminates

those who remain too close to the original mould. Use and disuse of organs ; action of environment and reaction of the environed ; integration and variation serve to break this original mould into copies without number. Sympathy with one's fellows gradually redistributes the social groups into those who act from self-interest and those who place the interest of others before their own. Morality is thus made to appear as altruism and sin as selfishness. The variants introduced into the original nature-worship have gradually brought about the purer cult of worshipping nature in ourselves, or in the heroes of the race, as in the new gospel according to Goethe and Carlyle. Yet this idyllic philosophy of nature fails of its wonted charm, when we remember that all this selection is a vast deal more human than natural, mistaking the order of man's knowing, for the order of the world's being, the accidents of human thinking for the causal interplay of things.

It is a trite canon of logic that "the greater the content of an idea, or sum of notes which it comprises, the less is its extent, or number of objects to which it may be applied ;" and vice versa.¹ But somehow in the minds of selectionists as well as in the books of materialists, the purely logical significance of this canon gets converted into a principle, source, and ground of reality, so that their paraphrase of it is : "The less the content of an idea, the earlier the appearance in reality of the thing or things represented by it." This is a return to neoplatonic modes of thought and to the cardinal tenet that "the greater the universality of an idea, the more fundamental the reality." The old ladder of theophanies with the created logos for its topmost rung, which was the world-view of Plotinus, Jamblichus and Proclus, no longer reaches down from God, but rises only from protoplasm to man. The length

¹ There is more in the idea of "white" than in the idea of "color;" in the idea of "color" than in the idea of "quality;" in the idea of "philosopher" than in the idea of "man." The representative capacity of our ideas approaches the zero of content, and, in doing so, acquires an infinite extent. This mental unity which things undergo in thought, and which is the basis of system-building, is very liable to be mistaken for a separate reality, "a one-and-the-same-thing-existing-in-all."

has been shortened, the base shifted, and the direction changed, but the construction is the same. Neoplatonism is again justified of her children.

To appreciate this allusion to the history of philosophy one has but to weigh well the efforts to derive morality out of natural selection. The barbarous instinct of self-preservation which ruthlessly dominated the individual in his prehistoric struggle for life soon became softened by an impulse of fellow feeling—"co-operative sympathy" it is called—for the members of the same tribe, when the first tribal or social groups began to form. There thus arose a conflict between the inclinations of the individual and the demands of the social nature which he had newly put on. The distinction between self and others grew gradually dimmer by repeated acts of self-sacrifice hardened into habits, and conscience emerged as the assertive "voice of the tribal self." Morality is thus purely social, the integration of tribal variations naturally selected in preference to individual isolation. Christianity is but the reassertion of the tribal instinct as a doctrine of universal brotherhood.

But it is a "long cry" from sympathy to morality.¹ Right is not always a matter of sympathetic inclination and some of our most persistent impulses are not right. Sympathy would have brought about the extermination rather than the survival of the sympathetic, and, so far from accounting for morality as it now exists, is not even a good guess at a possible origin. Sympathy, no doubt, is a fundamental quality of human nature. It is the result of original endowment rather than of accidental acquisition, or the growth of circumstance. The mistake is in singling out this one instinct of human nature for primacy and priority over all the others.

To separate in thought several qualities, that must have been, originally as now, together in fact; to drivel down man's original content to one of these, such as sympathy; and to reconstruct real man on a basis of these half-personified abstractions, making him successively a struggler for bare exist-

¹ Cfr. "Natural Selection in Ethics," by Professor David Irons. *The Philosophical Review*, Vol. X, No. 3, May, 1901.

ence, a member of a tribe, a moral agent, and an ignorant worshipper of stocks and stones, is dialectics and not history. The intellective, social, religious and moral instincts of man cannot be made to explain one another as mutually derived variations, by simply redistributing them in an order of associated ideas. Whatever evolution there may have been was physical and not logical. No terminology, however heightened in color by references to history, or by question-begging epithets, can successfully disguise this fact. For this reason the philosophy on which selective explanations repose does not seem to be of the kind that is fitted to survive. Neoplatonism has shown it, for Neoplatonism has perished.

But, to conclude; it would be only setting up a ninepin for the sake of knocking it down again, to say that this criticism flies in the face of science, and would result, if adopted, in a poking over of antiquated rubbish as the Christian world-view has been termed. It does not touch science or belittle facts, or dishearten research even so much as by a pin's point. The saying is as old as Aristotle that men are troubled not by facts, but by opinions about facts. We should be masters of our learning and not its servants, and we may not hope to be like Virgil who never revised his tale of Troy. There is a fallacy in the possible retort that the naturalist knows what he is talking about better than the critic with his feet on the fender. But it is not the comparative knowledge of facts that is in question, only the *value of the explanation* of these facts, and this is matter of philosophy and logic, not of science, in which one may exercise the faculty of legitimate criticism without ceasing to be reverent toward the sum of present knowledge. The distrust is not of facts, but of the method of reconstructing their inter-relations.

The question is whether the force of evolutionary and selective explanations is mainly due to the unwarranted translation of mental class-terms into the language of physics; whether these explanations can endure a severe process of excision and retrenchment such as has been indicated; whether the continuity of things be intellectual, rather than causal

and physical; whether, in fine, "the gentlemen of intellect"

"Yearning in desire
To follow knowledge like a sinking star
Beyond the utmost bounds of human thought,"

may cast their mental lot with a world-view that is dialectical, mechanical, and verbal, in which the mental laws of association and dissociation are the sole agency that builds up the realities of the universe from nebulous mist and star-dust into the thoughts of thinking man.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

CATHOLICISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES.¹

What do we understand by Civilization? It is usually taken to mean the refinement of man in his social capacity. Whatever uplifts, cleanses, purifies, inspires man as a member of the common human family, is held by all men to be civilizing. The word, if not the idea, comes to us from the masterful Roman people. They believed that their *civilitas* or civilization, the sum total and the spirit of social progress attained in their city, by their laws and language, their religion and philosophy of life, was unsurpassed, was the last and highest effort of mankind.

In this they erred; and we need no better proof than the remnants of their life that have come down to us in one way or another. But they erred in noble company, for before them the Egyptian, the Assyrian, and the Persian, had shared the same conviction, as they have left the same historical proofs of their self-illusion in many a great monument, many a proud inscription. Even the Greek, whose civilization is so intimately related to that of the Romans, and through them to us, was unable to protect and propagate directly the spirit and the institutions of his own admirable refinement. In all purely human work there is a response of death, a certain futility and emptiness, as a reminder by Nature of man's transitory character and functions.

Nevertheless, while the forms, the outer dress, as it were, of civilization, change from one epoch of time to another, there is forever common to all mankind an irrepressible trend, like a rising flame or a flowing current, that impels us to create and share common interests and common enjoyments, that calls forth common efforts for causes that are common and therefore higher than any or all of us. In the common gains or attainments we bring to the front the best and noblest that is in

¹ Lecture on "The Catholic Church the Mother of our Modern Civilization," delivered at San Francisco, September 11, 1901, under the auspices of the Catholic Truth Society of that city.

each one of us, and in the common struggle we learn to admire and love the natural forces, gifts, opportunities and institutions which have been the means of creating what each race, or people, or epoch, calls its civilization. So the flag of one's fatherland arouses the holiest of natural passions, for it compresses into one cry, as it were, the whole life of a great and ancient people through many stirring centuries. So the tattered colors of the regiment whip the blood of the soldier into a rapid flow, for they recall the vastness and complexity of the common efforts that culminated in the victories whose inscribed names are soaked with the blood of the bravest and best.

Yes! Civilization is itself a great strife, and he alone comprehends it well who looks on it from the view-point of conflict. Not one genuine gain of civilization but counts its martyrs; not one step upward in the history of mankind but is taken amid the protests and opposition of those whose individual or particular interests are assailed, or seem to be. Mankind itself, even collectively, is not exempt from the blunders and follies, the errors and weaknesses of the individual. A Socrates can sacrifice to Esculapius, and a Montezuma can preside over hecatombs of human victims. It is precisely this atmosphere and character of conflict that lend to the period we are about to deal with its greatest charm.

I.

In the history of mankind, there is no more instructive, no more crucial time than what we call the Middle Ages. Then the ancient civilization of Europe was overrun by the barbarism of the North and the East, and owed its preservation and resurrection, not to its own power and fascination, not to the pity or needs of rude and fierce conquerors, but to the influence and authority of the Catholic Church. Roughly speaking, we may say that *the Middle Ages are that period of one thousand years* that opens with the overthrow of the imperial power of Rome in central and southern Europe about the year A. D. 500, and closes with the discovery of America and the invention of printing, just before the year 1500. In that time, there is, in greater or lesser degree, one form of government, the

fendal system, based on permanent warfare, upheld by the monopoly of the land, and the weakness of the central authority in every state. One race, the Teutonic, imposes its will on all the fair lands that were once the provinces of Rome—Spain, Gaul, Britain, Helvetia, the Rhineland, Italy herself. Throughout Europe the warrior rules, and the public life is marked by all the virtues and vices of the camp or burg. With few exceptions, the civil power is held by an aristocracy, more or less open from below, more or less restrained by king or emperor, but always violent and proud. The habits and manners of daily life are yet largely those of the forest and the marsh and the sea whence the invaders came. It was many a long day before the English thane forgot that he was the son of Low Dutch pirates, or the Norman earl ceased to feel himself the descendant of men who had made a dozen kings to quake and emperors to do them homage. The *Hidalgos* of Spain, the *Ritters* of Germany, are long conscious that they hold their places by reason of the old Gothic and Suevic or Alamannic conquests. At the basis of this society, there is always the antithesis of might and right, the strong and the weak, the brutal and ignorant against the refined and educated, the selfish and individual greed or need against the purposes and utilities of progressive society. When we look out over these ten centuries of human history, they come before us like the meeting of the turbulent sea with the waters of some majestic river, the Ganges or the Mississippi. On one side is the contribution of an orderly and regulated force, on the other the lawless impact of an elemental strength. The result is eddies and currents, islands and bars, reefs and shoals. A new and strange life develops along this margin of conflict between order and anarchy. All is shifting and changing, and yet, beneath all the new phenomena goes on forever the original struggle between the river that personifies civilization and the sea that personifies the utter absence of the same. So it was in the civil and secular world of the Middle Ages. Oh, indeed! there were periods of advancement, stretches of sunshine in a gloomy and troubled climate, individuals and institutions of exceptional goodness. If the underlying barbarism of the civil life had its vices, it had also its virtues that both

pagan and Christian have agreed in praising. It had overrun Europe like a flood, but it brought with it a rich alluvial deposit of courage and ambition, the elasticity and ardor of youth, fresh and untainted hearts, an eagerness to know and to do, an astounding energy that was painful to the sybaritic society that suffered the domination of this barbarism.

For an event of so great magnitude, it is wonderful how little we know of the circumstances of the fall of the Roman authority in the West. The civilization that up to the end was heir to all the art and philosophy of Greece, all the power and majesty of Rome, suffered shipwreck almost without a historian. Odds and ends of annals and chronicles, stray remarks apropos of other things—these are all that are left to us of those memorable decades of the fifth century, when Rome saw her gates desecrated by one barbarian horde after another. Yet enough remains to show that it was the Catholic Church which stood between her and utter extirpation, so great was the contempt and hatred of Goth and Vandal and Hun for the city that had been long the oppressor of the nations. Here a bishop turns away the wondering hordes from his town, there another encourages to vigorous resistance that is successful; here a holy virgin saves Paris from destruction, there an Italian bishop brings home a long procession of captives. Everywhere in this dark century that saw the old classic life enter on its decline, the Catholic bishop appears as the defender of the municipality and the people against every oppression. He alone possesses a moral authority equally great with Roman and barbarian. Alone he is trusted by both powers, for he is the only social force left that is really unaffected by the collapse of the old world and the arrival of a new one. The bishop is the ambassador of emperor and people, as on that dread day in the middle of the century, when Leo the Great went out to Attila on his way to Rome, and persuaded the great Hun to turn back with his half million savages and spare the Eternal City. As sorrow upon sorrow fell on the doomed cities and populations, the civil power gave way completely, and the ministers of religion were compelled to take up a work foreign to their calling, and save such wreckage as they might of the administration, art, and literature of their common

fatherland. They became the premiers of the barbarian kings, the codifiers of their laws, their factotums in all things, their intimate friends and counsellors. There is not a state in Europe, and all of them go back to this time, that does not recognize among its real founders, the Catholic bishop before whom the original conquerors bowed. There is Clovis before Remigins, Theodoric before Epiphanins and Cassiodorins, the Burgundian king before Avitus, and so many others that it is needless to detail their names or deeds. I recall the facts only to show that the very bases of our Christian society, the very foundations of mediæval Christendom, were laid by a long line of brave and prophetic bishops and priests, who saw at once in the barbarian conquerors future children of the Church and apostles of Christianity. On the very threshold, therefore, of the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church appears as the truest friend both of the old order that was going out, and the new one that was being ushered in amid the unspeakable horrors that always accompany the downfall of an ancient and highly-wrought civilization.

II.

All civilization begins with the soil. What have been the relations of the Catholic Church to the soil throughout the Middle Ages? Everywhere man is a child of the soil. Mysteriously he issues from it. He lives on it and by it. He goes down one day to his appointed place in the mighty bosom of Mother Earth. No matter how complicated society may become, it is impossible that conditions should arise in which man can be otherwise than dependent upon the earth that God gave him for a sufficient and suitable sojourning place. Institutions, laws, customs, and manners that sin against the God-given relations of man and the soil bear in them always the sure promise of death. Half, nay, nearly all, the great events of history are directly traceable to the struggles for the soil, whether from within or without the state. The plebeians and the patricians of Rome create immortal principles of private law by reason of this very conflict; the Roman State itself goes on the rocks because it neglected good lessons learned in its infancy. The contests of war-like shepherds in China

precipitate masses of barbarian Goths and Huns and Vandals on the Roman Empire and dislocate the social fabric that the genius and fortune and experience of a thousand years had built up. For another thousand years of feudal life the land is the only source and sign of wealth. The Middle Ages, economically, are that period of Western history when a few reaped the products of the earth, when the many bore the burden of the sowing, but at the reaping went empty-handed away.

The Catholic Church is too much the Mother Church of the poor and lowly and humble, too much the Sponse of the Carpenter's Son, that Great Friend of all who labor and are heavily burdened, not to hear forever in her heart the tender yet puissant cry: "I have pity on the multitude." The life of the soil is really in the labor that makes it bear fruit. Until man appeared the world was indeed a bright garden, but growing wild and untrimmed, all its powers sleeping as though under a spell within its bosom. This labor the Catholic Church has always sanctified and held up as a necessary and a blessed thing. Her Founder was accounted the son of a common laboring man, Himself a toiler at the bench. Her first missionaries were working men—fishermen, publicans, a physician, a tent-maker. She, first and alone, uplifted on her banner the symbols of labor and declared them worthy and holy. All her early documents bear the praise of labor. All her earliest legislation enforces labor as a duty for all. But, the duty of labor brings with it a corresponding right to the fruit and reward of labor, and here she came at once into contact with the existing conditions of society.

I shall say nothing of the relations of the Church to the soil under the pagan Roman Empire. Those three centuries were not unlike the three decades of the Hidden Life of Jesus, an epoch of divine education for her public life. But as soon as she is free we find her concerned about the treatment of the workingman in the great ranches or villas of the Roman nobles. No more underground prisons; no more stamping with hot irons the face that has been cleansed in the baptism of Christ. No more compelling of girls to go on the obscene vandyke stage of antiquity; no more maiming or abusing of the slave.

She opens vast refuges in every city for the poor and homeless driven off their estates by the growing monopoly in land. Every church door is a distributing place for the bread of the ensuing week. One quarter of the funds of every church goes to the relief of the poor. Before the Empire fell one of her priests arose and wrote an immortal page that stands forever to show that it was the abuse of taxation that brought it low and not the right hand of the barbarian, which in more humane days she had always beaten down. Economically, the old Roman Empire was always pagan, even in the hands of Christian men. Its principles and methods of administration never changed. It was an omnipotent, omniscient bureaucracy that learned nothing and forgot nothing until one grim day the Cross went down before the Crescent on the dome of St. Sophia and the Leather Apron was hoisted above the waters of the Golden Horn. But in all those trying ages, every bishop's house was a court of appeal for the overburdened peasant, and the despotic lord or cunning middleman was very likely to hear from Constantinople, or from the barbarian kings turned Christian, in a summary way. A bishop sat on the bench with the judges. He visited the prisons, his church had the right of asylum for poor debtors or oppressed men generally. He was recognized by the state as the natural-born spokesman of the people in city and country. He was the last link between the old Roman society and the new world arising on its ruins. In his person, for he was nearly always the ablest man in the city, were gathered all the best traditions of law and procedure, of traditions and good customs. In the wreckage of the state he had saved, as it were, the papers, the family records, the registers, and the like that in an hour of peace would enable order to be brought out of chaos by younger hands. Let any modern economist or lawyer read the letters of Gregory the Great and he will be astonished to see how this great Roman nobleman, who traced his ancestry back to the Caesars and who had been himself governor of Rome at the end of the sixth century, treats the relations of the peasant and the soil. Without interfering with the theories of the day that did not concern him he upholds in a long series of documents the just rights of his tenants on the four hundred farms that the Roman

Church then owned in Sicily. He chides his agents for rack-renting and orders the excess to be given back. He provides for an adjustment of losses between the Church and the tenants. He writes to the Emperor about false measurements and exactions. Were all the noble principles he promulgates to be put into modern English it would be seen that this ancient bishop of Rome had asserted thirteen hundred years ago, at the beginning of our modern world, the principles that are yet basic in any society of men that pretends to stand and work well, without convulsions or revolutions. Now, Gregory was only the head of the system; he was not the inventor of those principles. He recalls them to his Italian bishops as being the purest spirit of the gospel. If you want to know what they are you have only to read the magnificent encyclical of Leo XIII on the condition of the working men. In it these principles are clothed in language scarcely different from that of his ancient predecessor.

These ancient bishops of the decadent Empire and the incipient states of Europe compelled the great land owners to build numerous little chapels on their estates. Thus arose around the homes of religion, the little villages of France and Italy and Germany. It is no mere chance that causes the Catholic Church spire in these lands to rise from ten thousand hamlets. The hamlets grew up beneath its beneficent shadow. In those little chapels were told to the noble and serf the truths of the gospel that gradually broke down the mediæval servage. Before those little rural altars the gospel was first divided into sections as we read it to-day on Sundays. Then again yearly the bishops in synod taught the parish priests how to comment on it, how to apply it without fear or cringing. To-day it seems a small task to speak the truth before all, but one day, long ago, it required an enormous moral courage for the son of a peasant to stand up before the owner of the great warlike castle on yonder peak and bid him cease from vexing, bid him live with one wife, bid him stop the exactions and plunderings by which he spent in one night the earnings of the estate for a year. Behind that poor semi-illiterate hind, dressed in the garments of a priest, there stood the bishop, and behind the bishop rose the powerful figure of the Church incarnate in the

supreme bishop at Rome. Countless times the thunderbolt flew from thence straight and true, that laid low the awful pride and the satanic tenacity of some great Frank or some fierce Lombard lord. It was indeed the Catholic bishop who saved the peasants of Europe from the fifth to the eighth century. For three hundred years he was the last court of appeal; he was the gospel walking among men; he was the only international force with power to execute its decrees. His cathedral was always in the heart of the city, and in its great door-way he sat regularly to judge justly and without price. His priests were usually the lawyers and notaries of the people. And on many an old Romanesque or Byzantine portal you may yet see in marble that lovely scene of the episcopal weekly tribunal. Around his house and in front of his church stretched the public square. He was the protection, therefore, of the little tradesman, the peasant, the peddler with his wares. To him came the pilgrim, the stranger, the wandering penitent. To him the ambassadors going east and west, the king on his annual round, the great nobles charged with the administration of justice or the collection of revenue. And when, after Pentecost, for example, or at Michaelmas, he gathered in annual synod his clergy from the villages and ranches and villas and castles, and stood at his throne, mitre on head and staff in hand, it did seem to all the assembled multitude, and it was in its own way true, that the Sun of Justice was shining among men, that every wrong would be redressed and every sorrow smoothed over, so far as it lay in the public power to do so. It is not for nothing that the Catholic episcopate won its incredible authority over the people. Such historical phenomena have always an adequate cause. Right here it was three long centuries of intelligent and sympathetic protection of the people, at a time when the feudal law was a-forming and the benefit of Roman law was in abeyance.

All this time, the old conditions of the Roman provinces of Europe were being deeply modified. Industry had been extinguished and commerce paralyzed by the first inroads of the barbarians. The east fell away from the west, whose jealous kings tolerated little intercourse with Constantinople. The

loveliest lands of France and Italy went without culture, and soon forests grew where palaces had lifted their proud fronts. The wild beasts wandered among the baths and porticoes and temples of the ancients, and the very names of towns that were once echoed beyond the Ganges were forgotten. Then arose another mighty force of the Catholic Church, the monks of St. Benedict. Long while only laymen, subject to the local bishop and controlled by him, they grew very numerous in time. Their rule was an admirable thing for the social needs of the day. It inculcated equally the labor of the field and the labor of the brain, and so during this period and long after, all Europe was overrun by the children of that good man whose mortal remains repose above the rushing Anio amid the sublime scenery of Subiaco. The Roman bishop took them under his especial protection, and together they formed a religious power that worked for good in every direction without any thought of self-advancement or any conflict of an unavoidable character. They chose usually for a home the waste and desert spots of Europe. Soon the forest was again thinned out and crops were again planted. Priest and brother, the educated man and the common laborer, went down into the field together and worked all day in silence side by side. They built the ditches, they bridged the streams, they laid the necessary roads; they increased the area of arable land in every decade, and thereby drove out the noxious wild beasts; draining and irrigation on a large scale were carried on by them. Walls and fences and granges arose on every little estate that they had created out of nothing. The peasant, half barbarian, learned from them the traditions of old Roman agriculture, for these men were often the best born and best educated men of the time. They leased to the peasant at a ridiculous rent and in real permanency the soil that they had themselves created. His children found employment in their kitchens and barns. One day the parents would lead their brightest boy to the abbey altar where his little fist would be wound up in the altar cloth as a sign that they gave him to St. Benedict. Thus he would enter the order as a novice to die My Lord Abbot of ten thousand acres, or Archbishop of Cologne, or perhaps Pope of Rome. *There is one true source*

of modern democracy—that ever open door of the Church by which throughout the Middle Ages the highest honor and emolument were ever open to the lowliest and poorest.

In those old days there were few or no cities. With the exception, perhaps, of northern Italy, the old municipalities of the great Roman provinces with all their traditions of order and justice had been submerged. The collective life was everywhere a tender growth nourished by the Church. Its beginnings were often after the following fashion :

Over against the castle or burgh of the local lord she set the little church or the small monastery. These, too, became proprietors, and on their estates the peasantry could see other principles of government than those of the rapacious fiefdom lord. It was an old saying in the Middle Ages that it was a good thing to dwell beneath the crozier. As a fact, the greenest fields and the richest slopes, the best vineyards, the best kept forests and fisheries, were those of bishop or abbot. Here religion forbade waste and riot, and education brought to their cultivation much knowledge handed down from the ancients. Though without wives and children, these great ecclesiastical lords, always elective, held a kind of a dead hand over their estates. Thus were secured perpetuity of tenure, continuous culture of the fields, equality of rents, new tracts of reclaimed lands, mildness of administration, and a minimum of expense in the conduct of vast properties. The classical studies broadened their views and humanized bishop and priest and monk. The meditation on the gospel, the example of countless holy monks and hermits, the daily service of God at the majestic altars of some basilica or Romanesque church softened their hearts. Those men and women whom the bishop or the abbot daily blessed, who brought in their woes with their tithes, were his tenants, perhaps for many generations ; thus there arose a certain fraternal intimacy between the most powerful men in the state and the humblest serf who delved on the hillside or tended sheep along the uplands. Whole sections of Europe were in this way reclaimed, or for the first time cultivated. Prussia, southern Germany, most of the Rhineland, the greater part of Switzerland, great tracts of southern Italy and Sicily, of Norway and Sweden are

the immediate creation of the churchman. If we would have some ideas of the duties of a mediæval bishop we should have to compare him with the president of some great railroad and double that with many of the duties of the mayor of a city and add thereto the responsibilities of teacher and preacher.

III.

The states of the Middle Ages were almost purely agricultural. Yet even in such states problems of production and distribution arose. The population increased, wants multiplied, war and travel and awakening knowledge roused curiosity and desire. The bishop's house first, and then the monastery, was the great nucleus of social life in the Middle Ages. Around the cathedral that the bishop built, perhaps in some lonely spot, if he was a missionary, or on the site of the old public buildings, if he dwelt in a once Roman town, gathered all kinds of workmen—tillers of the field, the weavers of cloth, the builders of houses, the decorators of the cathedral, the workers in linen and embroidery. Here were to be found the stone mason, the blacksmith, the joiner, the carpenter, the gold and silversmith, every artificer, indeed, for the little community. You see at once that all the germs of a city-life are here. Indeed, this is the origin of a multitude of European cities. The day will come when fierce conflict will arise between the bishops and the serfs emancipated and enriched, the latter claiming corporate recognition and a municipal constitution, freedom from imposts and the like; the former pointing to the fact that all they had was a benefit of the Church. There are some kinds of justice so complicated that time alone can grant them. And so in the end the bishop lost his control and the cities won legal recognition. Similarly, the monasteries were centers of consumption and distribution. The revival of the cloth trade in England in the twelfth century owes very much to the consumption of black and grey cloth by the monks and the nuns, and, indeed, was long in their hands. The preservation and protection of the culture of the grape, the viniculture of the Middle Ages, was almost entirely dependent on the immense multitude of churches, chapels and altars. The minor arts, like delicate work in silver and gold, in ivory and wood, em-

broideries and tapestries, were all kept alive by the constant need of new church furniture. In those days men lived much alone in castles or widely scattered hamlets. The annual fair with its products from all parts of the world was held under church auspices, about the monastery or in front of the cathedral. The wares of east and west were there hawked about; the traveller and the pilgrim hurried thither, the legal needs of the peasants—wills, marriages, contracts—were attended to; distant relatives met one another; all the refining duties of hospitality were exercised. And above it all arose the holy and benignant figure of Mother Church. The fair was opened with all the solemnities of the liturgy, and the fair itself was known as the “Mass of St. Michael,” or “Of Our Lady.” Indeed, the great book fair of Leipsic is still called the “Mass of the Books.”

Thus, throughout those remote times both the cathedral and monastery preserved the germs of civil life, that without them would have utterly perished, given the general ignorance and barbarism of the lay life. It is to them that we owe directly the preservation of all the social arts and professions. How many reflect when they enter an apothecary shop that it is the outcome of the infirmary of the monastery where the simples and drugs were kept that were needed for the use of the inmates or the serfs, and later on the peasants of the abbey. The monks copied out the old medical manuscripts, treasured up and applied much homely domestic traditions of a better day, and, to say the least, were as useful in handing down Greek medical practice as the Arabs were in transmitting its theory. Every monastery had its brother devoted to the sick, whose practical skill was often very great. While in Italy, both north and south, there surely lingered no little scientific medicine of the past, in the west of Europe the monks were, to a very great extent, the generous physicians of the rude and uncultured populations; memories of those days still hang about the cloisters of Italy, and those who have lived there long remember how often a rude dentistry is gratuitously practiced by some good Capuchin, how often the fever-stricken boy of the Campagna throws himself at the entrance of the first cloister, how the women of the hamlet

get from the nuns of the neighborhood the simple remedies that they need. When you pass by some brilliantly-lighted window and see exposed Chartreuse, Benedictine, and the like, you may remember that these sweetened liquors are antique recipes of mediæval monks originally meant for uses of health. Convents still exist, out of the Middle Ages, like the Certosa at Florence and the Carmelites of the same old town, that were and, perhaps, are yet practically the dispensaries of the city. Indeed, one might add a page to the famous lecture of Wendell Phillips on the "Lost Arts," were he to recount the benefits conferred on the medical sciences by the devotion of the mediæval clergy to the plain people. Only the other day, in reading Ian MacLaren's touching stories in the "Bonnie Brier Bush," I was led to reflect how much silent heroism of the same kind was practiced in the mediæval times, when a village doctor was unheard of, and the only available skill lay down in the valley or up on the tall crag where the men of God spent their innocent and beneficent days. Thus, whatever path of history or facts you tread backwards for thirteen or fourteen centuries you will always find that the only staunch and loyal friend of the poor man was the Catholic priest; that all the useful and indispensable arts and professions of social life were gathered up by him out of the great wreck of Graeco-Roman life, or created anew amid the turbulence and lawlessness of barbarism; that law and medicine found in him an humble but a useful bridge by which they were rescued from the flood of oblivion and ruin; that the homely utilities of the soil, of food and drink, of clothing, the more complicated processes of production and distribution, were very largely dependent on him in all parts of Europe. At the top notch of his estate he was bishop or abbot, at the bottom poor parish priest or monk—but ever he was a friend of the people, and he earned their gratitude by an anonymous devotion, a nameless self-sacrifice that covered one thousand years of the infancy of our modern states and was really their period of gestation and nursing.

IV.

While the Church was developing among the youthful nations of Europe the notion of the common weal, the higher

good of the commouwealth, she was also creating another entirely new institution, the Christian Law of Nations, or what is known to-day as *International Law*. The old Roman law did indeed recognize, gradually, a certain universal province of general rights, but it was only in the domain of private law, of the relations between one individual and another, such as contracts and obligations, wills and judgments, and the like; of a public law applicable to all peoples, higher than all and eminently fair to all, it had not the slightest inkling, and has left us no trace. Rome acknowledged no equal before the bar of mankind. The only civilization that ever withstood her, the old Persian, she pursued and harried to the death. Perhaps, in that dread hour, when the grim fanatic Arab arose in his stirrup above the prostrate bodies of Roman and Persian, it dawned upon both that they would better have arbitrated their pretensions, but it was too late. On the dial of time no power can turn back the solemn finger of history. It was otherwise with the Catholic Church in the West. She was the mother and nurse of a whole brood of young and ardent peoples, full of high and vague impulses, naturally jealous of one another, but also mutually respectful of the great holy power that they felt was lifting them steadily towards the light. In their infancy their first missionaries had been sent by Rome and bore aloft their authority from the central see of Christendom. In time one legate of Rome after another appeared to allay the fires of domestic hatred and revenge, to put bounds to ambition, to compel the execution of treaties, to protect the injured who were without redress. Often these men were of any nationality; whatever shrewd head offered itself, whatever experience of mankind was at hand, Rome accepted. Every kingdom and great family in Europe received and welcomed these men. Every decade of the high Middle Ages is filled with their good deeds. They represent a central authority, entirely moral and resting on personal conviction of its sanctity. They appealed to the common law of the gospel and the general customs of Christian life and experience. They brought to their tasks a suavity of manner and a persistency of method that the lay world admired instinctively. The opposition they could not break down, they turned. Peace

was their object as war was the purpose of the feudal world. In time they created an unwritten code that governed the world, the life-giving center of which was the Person of Jesus Christ in His Gospel enlightening and soliciting mankind to follow Him, the Prince of Peace, to beat the sword into the ploughshare. At a later date, Hugo Grotius, Puffendorf and other learned lawyers, organized in detail this mediæval institution; but it existed in practice long before them, and had long borrowed all its certainty of action from the Catholic Church. Only forty years ago, on the eve of the Vatican Council, David Urquhar wrote his famous "Letter of a Protestant to Pius IX." begging him to declare again and formulate the old Pontifical Law of Nations, that nothing else would arrest the bloody, inhuman practices of the slave trade, the opium trade, and all the other infamous arts by which the strong white races were waging a hellish war against the weaker colored ones. Only a year ago there met at The Hague in international conference the representatives of nearly all the civil powers of the earth to promote a universal peace, but the representative of Leo XIII, though invited by Russia and ardently desired by the Queen of Holland, was not allowed to enter. What good can ever come of such proceedings? They are fantastic and visionary, to say the least. It is the play of Hamlet with the Great Dane left out. A universal peace is a mockery so long as religious convictions do not dominate the ancient and natural impulses of selfishness, public and private, the cruel leonine policy of the world from Sargon to Cæsar.

V.

It is a commonplace saying that there is no social progress possible without the recognition of authority in the state, and a respectful submission to its due and licit exercise. But of what avail is all this if there be no habitual discipline in the minds and hearts of men? It is the creation of this docile temper, this *trained submission to just law and custom* that is one of the great glories of the Catholic Church. The modern world, in as far as it possesses this benefit, inherits it from her. A century of wild and incoherent efforts to base social obedience on any other lines than those she preaches, has resulted

in anarchy, or a practical appeal to her to help control the masses from whose hearts the balancing ideas of God, future retribution, sin, immortality, were driven by every ingenious means that could be devised. Neither Plato nor Aristotle, neither Zeno nor Cicero nor Seneca, were able to establish a code of principles that would command the willing and affectionate acceptance of all men under all the changing circumstances of life. Only Jesus Christ could do that. Hence His gospel is not only the noblest revelation of God to man, but also a political document of the highest rank, as the centuries to come will most certainly demonstrate. Throughout the Middle Ages the Catholic Church was the sole recognized interpreter of this gospel. Her decisions were law. Her comments were final. She did not call on men to obey a human will; it was the divine figure and will of Jesus that she held up before men. It was not by preaching herself or her achievements that she compelled the unwilling submission of the most violent men the world has seen, men in whose blood the barbarian strain was still hot and arrogant. Let anyone read the great "Papal Letters" of the Middle Ages, the letters of Gregory I to King Ethelbert, of Gregory VII to Henry IV of Germany; of Alexander III to Henry II of England; of Innocent III to all the potentates of Europe, and the magnificent letters of the nonagenarian Gregory IX to Frederick II; he will be astounded at the richness and abundance of pure gospel teaching, at the cogency of the texts, at the vigor and apostolic candor of their application. Judges and prophets, bishops and apostles, these men speak as man never spoke before. And when their utterances were heralded in a few weeks all over Europe by the swiftest processes then known to man, the innocent looked up and rejoiced, the oppressed breathed easier, those who hungered and thirsted for justice had their desire fulfilled. The tyrant shook on his throne and all the ministers of religion felt that an invincible force had been infused into them. The moral battle had been won; let gross earthly might do its worst. Kings of every nation quailed before those dread arrows; minor potentates stifled their evil passions for very fear of Rome; the unholy and impure let go the estates that they had robbed, either from the weak or from the Church; the

usurer lifted his hand from the throat of his victim ; the orphans' rights were vindicated and the widow's portion restituted. The holy law of monogamous marriage, of one man to one woman, was successfully defended ; kingdoms were risked and one day lost for the sake of a principle. To all, the sacredness of life was declared again and again—"Thou shalt not kill"—neither thy neighbor in unjust violence, nor thyself as God's own, nor the child in the womb. In a century of savage anarchy she declared the famous Truce of God that practically prevented warfare for more than half the year. Her altars were always places of refuge against hasty and unjust vengeance. She forbade anyone to mount the steps of those altars whose hand was stained with the blood of his fellowman. In that long night of storm and conflict she was everywhere the White Angel of Peace, everywhere, like the Valkyries, a presence hovering over the multitudinous scene of battle, but not like them an urger of death,—rather the vicarious voice of God, His gentle spouse bidding the hell of angry selfishness subside, and appealing, in season and out of season, to the conscience of mankind, its natural probity, and above all the love and the will of the Crucified One.

And so her own law grew—men called it in time the Canon Law—i. e. the law made up of the rules and regulations established by the authority of the Church. She disdained no human help and she loaned her strength to many a human and good measure. But the substance of it all is the gospel ; the spirit of it is one of peace, of friendly composition and arbitration where possible ; its very punishments have, what was unknown to the laws of mankind before her—a medicinal or healing character. Hitherto men were punished as a revenge of society for transgressing its collective will. Now, men are punished that they may enter into themselves and be enlightened, and seeing, be made to walk as straight as they see ; that is, be corrected.

Think of this legislation gradually spreading over all Europe from Sicily to Iceland, accepted as a quasi-divine code by all, and you see at once what a stern but enduring discipline was imposed on men's hearts. Obedience was hard, but it was useful ; it was humiliating, but it cleansed and comforted. It

was painful, but it made men God-like, since it was exercised to imitate and please Him who had first given the most splendid example of obedience. The Lombard Gastaldo at Friuli, and the Duke at Spoleto, the Frank Comes at Tours or Limoges, the Exarch at Ravenna, the Herzog in the Marches, all looked on and wondered and trembled at the popular submission to one weak man's will. For the first time moral dignity prevailed, and the authoritative sentence of the successor of the Fisherman had more weight than the laws of a dozen kings. This was a great step, for it lifted the administration of justice out of and beyond the sphere of the personal and temporary into a high and serene atmosphere. It made the face of the judge to shine with a light reflected from heaven. It gave a kind of immortality to every utterance. It was like a new stringer laid on the fair and holy walls of the temple of justice. The decisions of one pope were sacred to his successor, and the wicked had the assurance that there was no re-opening of their career before a tribunal that had judged them by the law of God.

Such an authority, sacred and intangible by reason of long and useful services to European society, could deal with all civil authorities on the highest level. It had nothing to gain from their flattery and nothing to fear from their ill-will. It had known the gloom of the Catacombs, the turbulent and selfish fondness of the first Christian Emperors, the whims and vagaries of the barbarous nations turned Christian. It is no exaggeration to say that the civil authority of the Middle Ages is the disciple of the Church. It learned from her the nature, scope, and spirit of authority. It got through her the most monumental expression of that authority, the immortal law of Rome. It got from her a higher and more useful concept of punishment. It learned from her a hundred uses of authority that were unknown before. It learned how to temper severity with mildness; how to restrain the ardor of justice by equity and prudence; how to insist on the written evidence and to preserve the records; how to surround justice with the due solemnity, and to grant to all concerned those proper delays that are needed to prevent the triumph of wrong through error, ignorance or chance. Many of

these things are, indeed, the legacies of the Roman law of procedure. But we must remember that centuries before the Roman law was taught in the schools of Europe, it was the law that the Church and her clergy governed by, and by which they governed themselves in their synods and trials. Its procedure was made her own from the beginning and through her entered the chanceries and justice halls of all Europe.

Whatever was the actual belief of Shakespeare, his genius was certainly Catholic in the largest sense. He has always the true philosophic note when he touches her institutions. And so his bishops are the embodiment of law and order. The principles of justice, the equity of war and peace, the nice points that affect the king's conscience, are decided by them. In Henry V, the king invokes the judgment of the bishops as to the moral character of his contemplated expedition against France.

‘My learned lord, we pray thee to proceed,
And justly and religiously unfold
Why the law Salique that they have in France
Or should or should not bar us in our claim.
* * * * *
And we will bear note and believe in heart
That what you speak is in your conscience wash'd
As pure as sin in baptism.”—Act I, Scene I.

The whole trend of public opinion in the Middle Ages was so overwhelmingly in this sense that it would have seemed an anachronism to have made the bishops of England assume an attitude different from what they had always held in ages gone by. So, too, in the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation that theoretically dominated the political situation in Europe, the chancellor of the empire was always the Archbishop of Trier, and as such was the Emperor's spiritual adviser in all that pertained to justice or equity in public affairs or enterprises. In other words, the great states of Europe grew from infancy to manhood under the solemn and public tutelage of the Catholic Church. What is good and lasting in their government they owe to her, what is faulty and imperfect to their own inordinate ambitions.

The greatest public act that could fall to a churchman to perform in the Middle Ages was the anointing and coronation of a King. It is among the solemn acts reserved to a bishop, and as such is found in the Roman Pontifical. In one of the great prayers said over the new king, the Catholic Church has herself given the character, measure and spirit of the civil duties of a regent of the people. It is almost a summary of her own career throughout the shifting and difficult circumstances of mediæval life.

VI.

Such a power as the Catholic Church, deeply rooted in history and in the hearts of all the nations of Europe, had necessarily a more than ordinary influence on the *social life of the people*, and the institutions in which it manifested itself. I cannot do more than touch summarily on some important points. Those institutions that affect woman are fundamental in every society. With an instinct both true and keen, the Catholic Church, at the breakup of the old Greek and Roman world, set herself to protect the weaker sex. It was now a world, in which the example of the strong and the rich was all contagious. Bravely and persistently she resisted the attempts of the aristocracy from Emperor and king downward to introduce polygamy. As the great nobles grew independent they grew restless under the restraint imposed upon ordinary men, and asserted for themselves immunity from the law of the gospel. But they found in the popes and the Catholic clergy, generally, a wall of brass that they essayed in vain to overthrow. The history of her marriage legislation, of her dealing with divorce, is one of the proudest pages in the life of the mediæval church. In every nation of Europe the battle had to be fought over and over again, and always with the same result: "Thou shalt not." We have yet, for example, the admirable letters written by Innocent III to Ingelberge the repudiated wife of Philip Augustus. They furnish a sufficient commentary on the long catalogue of royal matrimonial causes that were ever before the Roman court through the Middle Ages. The impediments that she placed on certain marriages

had each its own justification in history, in the relations with the civil power or in that sure instinct of what was for the welfare of the people that I have already referred to. Thus the impediment of close relationship acted very efficaciously in preventing the accumulation of land and power in the hands of a few families, not to speak of other useful consequences. It must be remembered that, as to those impediments that she created by positive enactment or by hallowing custom, she must be judged from the view-point of the times and the circumstances. Apropos of the transmission of wealth, had the mediæval clergy been a married clergy, the wealth of Europe would have passed to their children, their great benefices would have been hereditary, and instead of an humble class of men rising by their own efforts to the highest rank, we should have seen the great prizes of the ecclesiastical life handed down by the laws of human affection, with the invariable decay of every ecclesiastical virtue and the spiritual ruin of the European population.

If the Church built high the barrier about woman in some directions, in others she left her a freedom unknown to the ancients and opened to her a career of extraordinary utility. No one might coerce her into marriage; the cloister was ever open. Only those who know how uncertain the perpetual turbulence of the Middle Ages made the condition of woman, how sad the life of the widow, the orphan, the desolate maiden, can appreciate the benefit that these holy refuges were to women in this stormy period. Woman governed freely such institutions, and when they arose to prominence, her position was only less enviable than that of a queen. As abbess of a great mediæval monastery, she disposed of great and vast estates and revenues and enjoyed in her own person the highest distinctions of church and state. In marriage the freedom of her consent was especially safeguarded; her position and rights were the same as those of the husband, and if she was inferior in what pertained to the disposition of property, it must not be forgotten that mediæval life was in many respects different from our own, that man alone could bear the burdens of life as it was then lived. The bishop's court in the Middle Ages was another benefit to woman. Usually it was the court for wills

and testaments, and well it was, for the bishop was naturally the father of the helpless and the lowly.

Of two other conditions of life I shall say but one word—the poor and the slave. So long as a monastery existed, no poor man could go hungry, and the duty of giving to the hungry and the poor was looked on everywhere as the holiest of all. War, pestilence, famine, worked their ravages, it is true, but in ordinary life the hungry and starving poor were rare in mediæval Europe. Nor was this accomplished by statute law, nor with painful humiliation, but in love for Jesus' sake, because He, too, had been a poor man; because the poor man bore the likeness and image of the Creator even as his richer brother; because after all, the rich man was only the steward of his wealth and not its absolute owner. As to slavery, the Church did not formally abolish it, but it was incompatible with her doctrine and life. It gradually lapsed into servage; the serf was attached to the soil, a great blessing for him. He was often the Church's own man, and so he gradually merged into the free peasant, very largely through the agency of local churches, only too anxious to preserve on their lands the same families, with their knowledge of the soil and their loyalty to the owners.

As to money itself and its functions, the mediæval church knew not our wonderful development of industry and commerce. It was an agricultural world, and money did not seem productive in itself. Usury was the supremest hardship for the poor, as it is yet felt in purely agricultural lands like Russia and India. It was forbidden under the severest penalties, and out of sympathy with the multitudes that would otherwise have suffered incredibly in a time when their little bit of land, their crops and their implements, were all that nine out of ten poor men could ever hope to own. As to the uses of wealth itself, the ideas of the Middle Ages were thoroughly humane, even grandiose. Surplus wealth was not man's, but God's. The owner was the steward, the administrator, and he was bound, after providing for the suitable support of his own, according to their estate in life, to bestow it in other good works. Moreover, thereby he could atone while yet alive for his shortcomings; he could further the

relief of the poor, the weak, and friendless ; he could be a helper of God in the government of this world ; he could root out the ugliest of all social cancers, the cancer of ignorance ; he could elevate to God's glory a noble temple ; he could provide the sweet boon of education to those who would never know its uses had not some generous soul been moved by these ideas. So common were these views that it was seldom a man or woman died without making some provision for the poor, for religion, for education. These moneys in turn flowed back into the community, and a perpetual exchange of good offices went on between the individual and the institution his generosity either created or sustained. So much money was given to education in Germany just before the Reformation that Martin Luther used to say it was almost impossible for a child to go ignorant under the papacy. So education, architecture, the fine arts, the social needs, were forever provided for by the overflowing treasury of popular gifts and the Catholic people in turn escaped the danger of idolizing their wealth and hoarding it too jealously against a future that they had no means of controlling. Thus, for instance, arose countless grammar schools in Scotland and England that were so numerous before the Reformation that the poorest boy could get a classical education in his own town and thereby enter the clergy. In Germany, France and Italy, a similar education was to be had with almost the same ease, and that meant in those days the open door to office, preferment and wealth. Countless associations were endowed for the care of the poor, the burial of the dead, the dowering of poor girls, and the relief of every form of misery. If men made money largely they spent it generously and intelligently. There was, perhaps, no time in the history of mankind, not even our own last few years, when men devoted to public uses so large a portion of their wealth. Not the least cause of it was the Catholic doctrine of the utility of good works for the welfare of the soul. Old churches were repaired ; new ones were built all over Europe. Indeed, both Dr. Janssen and Dom Gasquet have shown, not only that the generosity of the fifteenth century was as great proportionately as that of any other age of the church, but that it was extremely popular in kind, i. e., that down to the eve of the

Reformation the people generally accepted the mediæval view of the uses of money, notably for the common good. Shakespeare, who is so often the perfect echo of mediæval thought and temper, puts into the mouth of Queen Catharine as the best praise of the fallen Woolsey that he had built two noble schools for the education of youth, a grammar school and a university college.

“ Ever witness for him
Those twins of learning that he reared in you
Ipswich and Oxford! one of which fell with him,
Unwilling to outlive the good he did it;
The other unfinished yet so famous,
So excellent in art, and still so rising
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.”

Henry VIII (IV, 1).

VII.

In the early Middle Ages the *sense of the common weal* was very imperfect. The Wandering Nations had developed the kingship through long and permanent conflicts, first among themselves, and then with Rome. But we see on all sides among them the rudest and most original independence. Here the great unity and centralization of the Church were as models to the State, that little by little arose to a similar concept. We have only to follow, for instance, the history of France from the days of Gregory of Tours to the foundation of the Capetian monarchy, to see how the churchmen contributed to the unification and solidarity of that great state. So, too, in England, the separate little kingdoms are brought ever closer together under the influence of Canterbury, its bishops, its synods, and the general unity of ecclesiastical life that was there constantly visible since the time of St. Augustine. The mixed synods and councils of the early Middle Ages in England, Germany, France, Spain, were also a training school for the lay governors of society. They learned from the better educated ecclesiastics how to conduct popular assemblies with something more than the rude simplicity of their German forefathers by the Rhine or the Elbe. They learned as we have seen, the use of written records, the patient sus-

taining of contradiction, the yielding to the majority, the power of eloquence and learning. But they learned something holier still,—to look on public life from a moral point of view, to consider their offices as a trust from God, to become familiar with the idea that all power was from God and not from their great spears and their strong arms. Little by little generations of rulers were formed who owned enlightened consciences and listened to them, instead of the wild passions that were once their sole guides. Far deeper and more immediate than the influences of Rome and Greece on the modern state are the Christian influences. These are original and organic, the former academic and secondary. Later, indeed, the common missionary enterprises, the opposition to Islam, the Crusades, bound all Christendom together in links of common sacrifice and ideals that could nevermore be forgotten.

I have already called attention to the signal services rendered by the Church in all that pertains to the administration of justice, the corner-stone of human society. In the preservation of the Roman procedure, the new views of the nature and uses of punishment as a “*medicinalis operatio*,” in the obstacle that the right of asylum set against unjust vindictive haste, in the introduction of written evidence, she saved some admirable old elements and added some new ones to the civil life of European peoples.

The sanctity of oaths was insisted on by her and the utmost horror of perjury inculcated. In the great mediæval veneration for the relics of the Saints and Martyrs and Confessors she found a fresh means of compelling veracity and obedience on the part of the wicked and tyrannical. Many a wild baron or marauding noble cowered when he was asked to swear or promise by the relics of St. Cuthbert or St. Columbanus, St. Genevieve or St. Martin, and gave back ill-gotten gains that a king could not have taken from him.

VIII.

If we would understand well the Middle Ages, we must ever keep in view that in those times public life was dominated by two great functional ideas—the sense of *personality* and the sense of *responsibility*. Throughout those centuries,

it was the universal persuasion that the final end of society was the perfection of each individual soul, or rather, its individual salvation. Not the comforts of life, not an increasing refinement and complexity of earthly pleasures, not the scouring of earth and sea to minister to one hour's enjoyment, were the ideals of the best men and women of those times. Neither did they seek in the organic development of the collective unit, the earthly society, their last and sufficient end. To them it seemed that human society was organized, not as an end in itself, but as a means to enable men to know, love and serve the Master on this earth and be happy with Him in the next. Whatever furthered these views of life was good, and all things were bad or indifferent in the measure that they fell away from or were useless for this end. This is why the great men of the Middle Ages are not its warriors, not its legislators, not even its great priests and bishops, but *its saints*. In a closer personal union with God men found the highest uses and meanings of life. It was a temperament essentially spiritual, mystic, that forever urged men and women to neglect, even despise what was temporary or earthly, to aspire to a world beyond the low horizon of threescore-ten and the grave. Holiness, a godlike purity of mind and heart, through detachment from the mortal and attachment to the immortal and the divine, was the keynote of this thousand years. During this time it is in men like Patrick, Columbanus, Benedict, Boniface, Norbert, Bernard, Thomas of Aquin, Dominic, and Francis of Assisi ; in women like Bridget, Radegunda, Cunegonda, Elizabeth, Catharine of Siena, that we must look for the fine flower of Christian growth. Since the Renaissance, with its reassertion of the basic principles of Paganism, it has been ever more fashionable to tax the Middle Ages with an impossible mysticism, with an unjust contempt for the beauty and comfort of the human body, with a false view of man's relations to the earth on which he lives and subsists, and the society to which he necessarily belongs. It is not my purpose just now, to defend the mediæval view other than to say that they read the gospel simply and candidly, and took this meaning from the teachings of Jesus: that they were to seek first the Kingdom of God and the justice thereof; that they

were to imitate the earthly life of Jesus Christ ; that His precepts and councils were preferable to all suggestions of nature or experience ; that He came on earth to reveal a new and higher life in which men should be as free of the flesh and its limitations and perversions, as God's grace could make them. They read in the gospel the praise and the example of virginity, the assurance that the figure of this world passes away like stubble in a furnace, that for every idle word an account should be rendered, that the duties of religion and of charity, the devotion of self for others, were obligatory on those who would be perfect Christians. They were not always skilled logicians, at least not until Aristotle got a chair in the Christian schools, and they lived more by the heart than by the manual of the statesman or the formulas of the chemist. Therefore, to be brief, the Middle Ages are more a period of noble personalities than of popularized science, a time of strong trenchant individualism when each man and each woman leave a mark on the life about them. There are those who believe that there is more magnetism, more genuine inspiration in such a world and life than in a period of golden but general elevation when all is mediocre by the mere fact that no one rises much above the general level. Just so, there are those who believe that the rude, hard life of the early history of our country developed more superior character than the cosmopolitan perfection we now enjoy ; that the strenuous days of the pioneers brought out more virtue than the finished municipal organism of the present ; that the true use of history consists in the great characters it reveals and uplifts ; that one view of the solitary white peaks of the Rockies is worth a week's journey across the fat plains of the Red River or Manitoba.

Just because the view of life popular in the Middle Ages pivoted on personality, it was replete to the saturation point with a sense of responsibility. How this affected the relations of man with God I have just indicated. It was the true source of sanctity and its prevalence is shown by the great multitude of holy men and women who meet us on every page of mediæval history, and in every stage of its evolution. In man's dealings with society, it affected profoundly his concept of

public office. According to Christian teaching all power comes from God and is held for the benefit of one's fellow mortals. It is not a personal inheritance, a thing transmissible or to be disposed of by private will. Power over others is vicarious, the act of an agent, and as such its use is to be accounted for. The Church had not to go far to impress that idea on the clergy. It was brought out in letters of gold in the pastoral epistles of St. Paul, who only develops the idea set forth in the gospel. It was otherwise with the civil power. The lucky soldier who rose to wear the imperial purple had no education save that of the camp. The fierce Frank or Burgundian noble, who had waded through blood to the high seat of Merovingian kingship, thought only to enjoy the fruit of his courage and good fortune. But they met a priest at the foot of the throne who warned them that the power was not theirs, but a trust from God; they heard a voice from the altar on holy days depicting the true kingship, that of David, of Solomon, of Constantine or Gratian. They met at the council-table venerable bishops and abbots who discussed all methods from a view point of divine revelation,—notably of Christian history and the spirit of Jesus Christ. There was anger enough at this perpetual schooling, wild outbursts of passion that they could have no peace with these obstinate priests, fierce excesses of cruelty and periods of reaction. But the Catholic clergy succeeded in stilling the furnaces of passion that were the barbarian royal hearts, and in creating a public opinion in favor of an ideal Christian ruler. And when once a great ruler like Charlemagne had risen to incarnate so many Christian public virtues of a master of men, his memory was held in benediction by all, and his shadow fell across all the centuries to come, blotting out the irregular and bloody past, and forecasting the great royal saints of a later day—a Henry of Germany, an Elizabeth of Thuringia, an Edward of England, a Stephen of Hungary, a Louis of France, a Wenceslaus of Bohemia. In time, this practical education of mediæval rulers became academic, and we have a long catalogue of “instructions” for kings, “warnings” for kings, beginning with the golden booklet of the deacon Agapetus to his master, the great Emperor Justinian, and coming down over seven hundred years to the fine

treatise attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas, "On the Government of Princes." You will see little reference to such in the ordinary histories of pedagogy. Yet they have had a profound influence in forming royal youth at a time when the happiness of peoples depended much on the personality of their rulers. Public office was therefore a quasi-priestly thing in the Middle Ages, a trust, a deposit, and the proper administration of it a knightly thing, something to affect the conscience almost like the honor of the soldier or the good name of woman.

No doubt there was plenty of human weakness, plenty of hideous contradiction of those ideals. But the ideals themselves were held up and even realized. Thereby no European people could fall into utter servitude morally and mentally like the subjects of imperial Rome or the millions of bureaucratic China. In the resplendent gospel of Jesus Christ, in the self-identical and constant teachings of His Church, in the great and shining examples of His saints, there was a source of self-judgment and self-uplifting that could never be quite dried up, and which, from time to time, the Angel of Reform came down and touched with salutary effect.

IX.

There is a story told of Atanlf, the general of the Goths and the successor of Alaric, the Conqueror of Rome, at the beginning of this period, that he had long meditated the extinction of the whole Roman power, and the substitution of Gothic life and habits throughout Europe. He was held back from this act by the reflection that without the laws of Rome, he could not think of governing the world. Barbarian as he was, he had seized the first principle of good government, the creation of laws, at once stable and equitable, tried by experience and adapted to the circumstances of the age and civilization. In the course of a thousand years, Rome had built up such a system—the *Roman Law*. Tradition, experience, equity, philosophy, religion, had contributed each its share, and the eminently practical and sober genius of the Roman people had welded the whole into a fabric that yet stands, the admiration of all thinking men.

When the Middle Ages opened, with the military cunnning and strength of Rome departed, and a dozen barbarian nations camped triumphantly over the Enrope that Rome had snbdued and civilized, this law of Rome, the basis of the great Peace and Order, the "Pax Romana" that she had established, was in the greatest danger of perishing. Indeed, it would have perished, save for the Catholic Church. By saving the law of Rome as her own law, she saved to all future society the idea and example, the spirit and the principles of social authority, of the state, such as it had been evolved at Rome in the long conflict of peoples and races that kept steadily widening from the Tiber to the extremities of the habitable world. The homely repnblican virtues of Old Rome, the humane and discriminatingsoul of Greek philosophy, the vast ambitions of the Orient, the tradition of a golden age of eqnality and simplicity, the profound knowledge of the average human mind and its norms of action, a religious respect for distributive justice, a great sense of the utility and loveliness of peace and harmony—all these are so many visible traits or elements of the Roman Law that render it applicable in all times to all mankind—what St. Augustine used to call "hnuman reason itself set down in writing."

This law the Catholic Chnrch through Europe elected to live by herself, at a time when every barbarian had the rude law of his own forest or mountains. Wherever a Catholic bishop governed, or a priest went as a missionary, he bore with him the fullness of the law of Rome. It clng to his person, when the civil centers were laid desolate, Rome, Milan, London and York, Saragossa, Paris, Trier, Cologne. The law of contracts, the law of last wills and testaments, the laws that govern the life of the citizen in the walled town and the peasant in the open field, the general principles and the practical case-law that Rome had been creating from the Rhine to the Euphrates and from the Grampians to Monnt Atlas, were now in the custody of the same hands that bore aloft the gospel through the forests of Germany, or uplifted the Christian sacrifice over the smoking ruins of the proudest cities of ancient Europe.

It is owing to the Catholic Church that we now enjoy a

regular procedure in the administration of law. Our legal procedure is substantially that of the Roman law. The barbarian peoples long detested the regular slow order of Roman justice. They despised the written proof, the summoning of witnesses, the delays, exceptions and appeals that secure the innocent or helpless from oppression, and compel even the most reluctant to acknowledge the justice of condemnation. In all these centuries the Church applied this procedure to her own clerics in every land, and embodied it in the canon law that was the same the world over, as Roman law had been the same the world over. The justice of the barbarian was summary, violent, and productive of endless vendettas. The terrible German *Faustrecht*, the *Vehmgerichte* of the Middle Ages, like the work of our lynching committees, were a last relic of what was once universal. After the fall of the Roman power, there was no one but the Catholic Church to represent the social authority as such over against the wild and savage feelings of a multitude of barbarians, intoxicated with the glory of conquest, and the riches of the degenerate but luxurious world of Gaul and Italy. When Clovis, the founder of the French monarchy, was distributing the booty after a great battle, he set aside for himself a tall and precious vase. Thereupon a great Frank stepped out of the ranks, and with his spear shattered the vase in pieces. "O, King, thou shalt have thy share," he cried, "and no more!" Clovis swallowed his wrath. The next day while reviewing his army, he passed before his bold contradictor, and noticing some negligence about his dress, bade him correct it. As the latter stooped to tie the string of his shoe, the King lifted his own huge spear and drove it through the neck of the soldier. Thus a victorious king administered justice, and it is typical of what went on for centuries through Europe.

It was the bishops of the Church who induced the barbarian to temper their own laws and customs with the law of Rome. And whatever laws you study—those of France or Germany, or Spain, or England, or Ireland,—you will find that when you come to the line where they emerge from barbarism or paganism, the transition is effected by Catholic bishops and priests. Throughout the Middle Ages all law was looked on as coming

from God, as holy, and therefore in a way subject to the approval and custody of the Church. It was the crown of the moral order, the basis of right conduct, and hence the royal chanceries of Europe were always governed by an ecclesiastic, whose duty it was to enlighten the king's conscience, and to see that neither the gospel nor the spirit of it were infringed.

The hasty, vindictive quality of barbarian justice was long tempered by the Right of Asylum, which the churches and great monasteries afforded. The greatest criminals could find shelter there, as in the Cities of Refuge of Israel, if not against punishment, at least against punishment without trial or defense.

On the judge's bench one could often see the Catholic bishop, sometimes administering the law of the state by order of the king, sometimes the counselor of a soldier or noble ignorant of law and procedure, sometimes the defender of a town or city overburdened with taxes or tributes, sometimes the lawyer of the oppressed and the innocent. He is the real man of law, the real representative of order and justice, and for many long centuries the whole fabric of society depends on the succession of good and devoted men in the hierarchy of the Church throughout Europe. They kept alive the sanctity of oaths, without which there is no sure justice. The latter is based on the fear of God, and only the Catholic Church could emphasize that idea in those ages of bloodshed and violence. It was well that such men feared something—the anger of God, the wrath of the saints over whose relics they swore, the pains of hell—otherwise there would have been no bounds to the arbitrary excesses of a feudal aristocracy, that despised all beneath it, and was ready to cut down with the sword any attempt to dominate it. Let any one read the private lives of the Merovingian and Karling kings, or the annals that tell the story of Italy in the tenth century and again in the fourteenth, and he will see to what depths of impious blasphemy the mediæval man could sink when he once lost his fear of the Catholic Church.

It was the Catholic clergy who taught these barbarians how to administer society, who wrote out the formulas of government, the charters, the diplomas, the numerous documents

needed to carry on the smallest community, where there is any respect for property, office, personal rights and duties. From the registry of fields and houses to the correspondence between king and king, between emperor and pope, all the writing of the Middle Ages was long in the hands of the clergy. Thereby they saved to the commonwealths of Europe in their infancy no little remnant of old Roman habits of government, traditions of economy, order, equity, that they had taken over from the hands of the laymen of Rome during the fifth century, when the Empire was breaking up every year, like a ship upon cruel rocks in a night of storm and despair.

In these centuries the frequent synods and councils of the bishops and priests, were to the world of Europe what our Parliament and Congress are to-day. The brain and the heart of Europe was then the Catholic clergy. In their frequent meetings, the barbarian could see how to conduct a public assembly, the distinction of rank and office, the uses of written records and documents, the individual self-assertion, and the vote by majorities, the appeals to experience, to history, to past meetings, to the law of God, in the Old and New Testament. He could see the stern and even justice dealt out by the ecclesiastics to their own delinquent members—deposition, degradation, exile. He could see how these churchmen, when gathered together, feared no earthly power, and asserted the rights of the poor and the lowly against every oppression, however high placed. He could see how they feared no condition of men, and reproved popular vices as well as royal lust and avarice. He could see how every order and estate in the Church had its right to representation in these synods and councils. The day will come in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when civil parliaments will arise, the first germs of the great legislative bodies of our day—but their cradle will always remain the mediæval meeting in which churchmen, and often the laymen with them, laid the first beams of constitutional government.

X.

When we say that the Catholic Church was the principal, almost the only *educator of the Middle Ages*, we assert a fact that to all historians is as evident as sunlight. To begin with,

all the schools were hers. Such schools as were saved here and there in southern France and northern Italy out of the wreck of the Roman state in Europe, were saved by her. Her bishops, indeed, from the fifth to the eighth century, were more bent on the defense of the weak and the poor than on aught else, on the conquest of the barbarian character, the quenching of its fires of avarice, luxury, lawlessness. Nevertheless, many were patrons of learning, like St. Avitus of Vienne, from whose writings Milton did not disdain to borrow more than one beauty of his "*Paradise Lost*;" St. Caesarius of Arles, a patron of learning, whose sister, St. Caesaria, was one of the first to impose on the nuns of her community the copying and illumination of manuscripts; St. Nicetius of Trier, St. Gregory of Tours, and many other similar men. But, generally, all such men considered that they were in a conflagration, in a storm; the principal education was that of their wild and ferocious masters. Let any one read the pages of Gregory of Tours in his *Ecclesiastical History of the Franks*, or the charming volume of Augustine Thierry on the Merovingian kings and their courts, and he will understand what a great and hard task lay before these Gallo-Roman bishops, who stood for law and order and civilization, as well as religion, against victorious barbarians whose veneer of refinement only hid the hottest fires of human passion.

The schools which every Catholic bishop from the beginning necessarily conducted, in order to keep up an enlightened clergy, were never abandoned. The archdeacon, in this savage time, looked after them. They are numerous in Gaul, in Italy, in Spain. The classics are studied in them, the history of the Christian Church, the laws of the Church and the state. Schoolmasters arose, like Boethius, Cassiodorus, and later the venerable Bede, Isidore of Seville, and Alcuin, not to speak of the multitude of Irish masters. The manuals and teaching of these men last in many places fully one thousand years. It was not the highest standard of learning, but it was all that could be hoped for, and much more than the great majority wanted in a period of blood and iron, when society was a-forming again, and men could seriously ask themselves whether one hour of bestial enjoyment was not worth a cen-

tury of study. Side by side with the numerous episcopal schools went the little schools of the new monasteries, where the novices of the Benedictines, the children of their peasants, those of the nobles who had any idealism, could and did learn the principles and elements of reading, writing, arithmetic, eloquence, music, geometry, and geography. The art of handwriting was kept up, and the skill of the ancients in decorating manuscripts was saved. Out of it, as out of a chrysalis, shall one day come a Raphael and a Michael Angelo. The bishops profited by the good dispositions of Charlemagne and other upright kings, like Alfred of England, to inculcate a love of learning and to keep alive their schools and the supply of masters—no easy thing in the darkest days of the Middle Ages, when culture was timid and stay-at-home. Much refinement was kept alive within the peaceful precincts of the nunneries all over Europe. The noble pages of Count Montalembert on the Anglo-Saxon nuns ought to be read by all. The art of embroidery, of lace-working, of delicate handiwork in cloth and leather, the skill in illuminating and the covering of books, the domestic art of cooking, the arts that flourish in the immediate shadow of the altar, and those nameless graces of adornment that woman bears everywhere with her as an atmosphere—all flourished in these homes of virtue, calm and reserved amid the din of war, themselves an element of education in Christian eyes, since they upheld the great basic principles of our religion—self-restraint and self-denial.

We shall leave to the Arabs of Spain the merit and the credit honestly due them for their refinement and their civilization at a time when Christendom was surely inferior in many ways. But the Christendom of the ninth and tenth centuries was necessarily armed to the teeth against these very Spanish Arabs, in whose blood the new tinge of Greek culture, caught from learned Jews and Oriental Christianity, was too weak surely to withstand the hot current of the desert that surged successfully within them. Christianity has what no other religion has—a divine power of reform, which is nothing else than an uplifting of the common heart to its Divine Founder, a cry of *Peccavi*, and an honest resolution to live again by His spirit and His principles. It cannot, therefore,

sink beneath a certain level, cannot become utterly sensual, utterly barbarous and pagan.

The Middle Ages had two schools, wherein the individual heart could always, at any and every moment, rise to the highest level—the worship of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, and the loving veneration of His Blessed Mother. The former was a perpetual spring of noble conceptions of life, a spur of godliness, an incentive to repentance, a live coal on every altar, whose perfume penetrated all who approached, and attracted and consumed with the holiest of loves the very susceptible hearts of mediæval men and women, not yet “blasés” with the deceptions of materialism, yet living in and by faith, yet believing in God, Judgment, Heaven and Hell. All the architecture and fine arts of the Middle Ages are there. They are thank-offerings, creations of love, and as such, stamped with an individual something, a personal note that disappears when faith grows cold. In the “*Lauda Sion Salvatorem*,” of St. Thomas, we hear the most majestic expression of the influence of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament on the daily spiritual life of mediæval Europe, just as the Duomo of Orvieto reflects His action upon the hearts of the artists of Italy, and the feast of Corpus Christi enshrines forever His plastic transforming power in the widening and deepening of the Christian liturgy.

As to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Middle Ages were solicited on all sides by the mystery and the beauty of this type. Only once did it enter the mind of man to imagine in one and the same woman the serenity of the noblest matron, the pathos of the most loving motherhood, and the white splendor of stainless maidenhood! Only once did the heavens bend so close to the earth, and leave a human heart glorified as a pledge of their love, as an earnest of their value and their reality, as a souvenir of long-forgotten days of primal innocence and joy! With an unerring Greek sense of order and beauty, the earliest Christian artists seized on this new, transforming, moulding idea. They saw in it something sacramental, something that was at once a symbol and a force. Jesus had proclaimed that God was love, and His religion therefore a service of love. In the Maiden Mary, that idea

of love was tangible, immediate, eloquent in our poor human way.

True, there was the Supreme Beauty of the Godhead, of Jesus Christ! But that was an original, flawless, essential beauty. It shone all too remotely, too sternly and solemnly; the earthly element was there, indeed, but suffering, shot through with hideous streaks of sorrow and debasement.

But here in this type of the Mother and Child that divine love which is the root and the crown of Christianity, its sap and support, is brought within human reach. We can handle its strong fires, as it were, without being scorched or wasted by them.¹ Between the puissant Maker, the omniscient Judge, and our littleness there is interposed a thoroughly human figure, of sympathy, pity and tenderness all made up, herself the most lovely creation of the divine hands, and yet the most human of our kind.

XI.

I make only passing reference to the *great universities* of the Middle Ages. Every one knows that from Paris to Glas-

¹ "Rugged and unlovely, indeed, was all that the outward aspect of religion at first presented to the world; it was the contrast presented by the dim and dreary Catacombs underground to the pure and brilliant Italian sky and the monuments of Roman wealth and magnificence above. But in that poor and mean society, which cared so little for the things of sense and sight, there were nourished and growing up—for, indeed, it was the church of the God of all glory and all beauty, the chosen home of the Eternal Creating Spirit—thoughts of a perfect beauty above this world; of a light and a glory which the sun could never see; of types, in character and in form, of grace, of sweetness, of nobleness, of tenderness, of perfection, which could find no home in time—which were the eternal and the unseen on which human life bordered, and which was to it, indeed, "no foreign land." There these Romans unlearned their old hardness and gained a new language and new faculties. Hardly and with difficulty, and with scanty success, did they at first strive to express what glowed with such magnificence to their inward eye, and kindled their souls within them. Their efforts were rude—rude in art, often hardly less rude in language. But that Divine and manifold idea before them, they knew that it was a reality; it should not escape them, though it still baffled them,—they would not let it go. And so, step by step, age after age, as it continued to haunt their minds, it gradually grew into greater distinctness and expression. From the rough attempts in the Catacombs or the later mosaics, in all their roughness so instinct with the majesty and tenderness and severe sweetness of the thoughts which inspired them—from the emblems and types and figures, the trees and rivers of Paradise, the dove of peace, the palms of triumph, the Good Shepherd, the hart no longer "desiring," but at last *lasting* "the waterbrooks," from the faint and hesitating adumbrations of the most awful of human countenances—from all these feeble but earnest attempts to body forth what the soul was full of, Christian art passed, with persistent undismayed advance, through the struggles of the Middle Ages to the inexpressible delicacy and beauty of Giotto and Fra Angelico, to the Last Supper of Leonardo, to the highest that the human mind ever imagined of tenderness and unearthly majesty, in the Mother and the Divine Son of the Madonna di San Sisto." Dean Church, in "Gifts of Civilization" (1892), pp. 208-9.

gow, from Bologna to Aberdeen, they are papal creations, living and thriving on the universal character and privileges they drew from the papal recognition. Only a universal world-power like the papacy could create schools of universal knowledge, and lend to their degrees a universal value. I hasten to bring out some less familiar views of the influences of Catholicism as an educational force. There are many kinds of education, and not all of it is gotten from books or under the shadow of the pedagogue's severe visage.

It is true that the education given by the Catholic Church was very largely for ecclesiastics. Still, there was a great deal more of lay education than is usually admitted, especially in France and Italy. From the renaissance of the Roman law in the twelfth century, laymen had the most distinguished careers open to them, and as time went on, they practically monopolized the great wealth that always follows the complication and intricacies of the law. However, the churchmen used their education, on the whole, for the popular good. *Every cathedral in Europe was a seat of good government.* There traditions of justice and equity were administered with an eye to the new needs of the times. There was learning with charity, affection for the multitudes with inherited practice of self-sacrifice. Often the only power to resist the excesses of feudalism and to insist on the common rights of man, was the bishop. In his immortal tale of the *Promessi Sposi* Alessandro Manzoni has drawn with a master-hand the portrait of a great bishop in conflict with a feudal master. That this bishop was really Federigo Borromeo, a near relative of St. Charles Borromeo, does not detract from the truth or interest of the portrayal. Every monastery was a home of the peaceful arts, domestic and agricultural. The great educational virtues of order, economy, regularity, division of labor, foresight, and the like, were taught in each, together with other great virtues, like patience, humility, submission—those elements of the poor man's philosophy that are as useful to-day when a Tolstoi preaches them, as they were when Christ gave the example that alone makes them practicable, and as they will be when the hot fevers of our changing conditions have burned out, and we settle down again to one of those great

cycles of social immobility that have their function in the vast round of human life, as sleep has in the daily life of the individual. By its very nature, the details of the popular education of the Middle Ages escape us. There are no written annals for the poor and the lowly. Yet all over Europe there went on daily, hourly, a profitable education of the masses as to their true origin, and end, the nature, value and uses of life; the nature and sanctity of duty, calling, estate. Every church was a forum of Christian politics, where the people were formed easily and regularly by thousands of devoted parish priests, whose names are written in the Book of Life, who walked this earth blamelessly, and who were the true schoolmasters of European mankind in the days of its infancy and first helpless youth. Let anyone read "Ekkehard," the noble historical romance of Victor Scheffel, and the still nobler poem of Weber, "Dreizehnlinden," and he will see, done by two hands of genius, the process that is otherwise written in all the chronicles and laws of Europe, in all its institutions, and the great facts of its history as far as they affect the interests of the people. The countless churches, chapels, oratories, were like so many open museums and galleries, where the eye gained a sense of color and outline, the mind a wider range of historical information, and the heart many a consolation. They were the books of the people, fitted to their aptitudes, located where they were needed, forever open to the reaper in the field, the tired traveler on his way, the women and children of the village or hamlet. They were so many silent pulpits, from which the loving Jesus looked down and taught men from His cross, from His tabernacle, the true education of equality, fraternity, patience—all the healing virtues of His great heart.

From Otranto to Drontheim, from the Hebrides and Greenland to the Black Sea, there went on this effective preaching, this largest possible education for real life. In it whole peoples were the pupils, and the Catholic Church was the mistress. When it was done, out of semi-savages she had made polite and industrious nations; out of ignorant and brutal warriors, she had made Christian knights and soldiers; out of enemies of the fine arts and their rude destroyers, she

had made a new world of most cunning artificers and craftsmen ; out of the scum and slime of humanity that the Roman beat down with his sword and the Greek drew back from with horror, she had made gentlemen like Bayard and ladies like Blanche of France and Isabel of Castile.

In the history of mankind, this was never seen before, and will, perhaps, never be seen again. How was the wonder accomplished that the Slav, dreamy and mystical, should feel and act like the fierce and violent Teuton ; that the highly individual and romantic Celtic soul should suffer the yoke of Roman order and discipline ? How came it about that all over Europe there was a common understanding as to the principles of life, of mutual human relations, of the dealings of one society with another ? How could it be that the word of an aged man at Rome should be borne with the swiftness of the wind to every little church, to every castled crag, to every forgotten hamlet, and remote valley of the Alps or the Pyrenees, and be listened to with reverence and submission ? How was this absolute conquest, for conquest it was, of the human heart accomplished ? Very largely by the Liturgy of the Catholic Church. It was a conquest of Prayer, the Public Prayer of the Catholic Church. This organized worship of God lies at the basis of all European civilization, and it is the just boast of Catholicism, that such as it is, it is her work. When you take up a Roman Missal, you take up the book that more than any other transformed the world of barbarism. In it lie the ordinary public worship of the Catholic Church, the service of the Mass, the gospels broken up into short paragraphs, the marrow of the life-wisdom of the Old Testament, the deposit of world-experience that her great bishops and priests had gained, profound but true comments of the Church herself, hymns of astounding beauty, tenderness and rapture, prayers that are like ladders of light from the heart of man to the feet of his Maker. It is this public prayer that ensoned every church, from the wooden chapels of Ireland or Norway to the high-embossed roof of Westminster or Cologne. This prayer first inflamed the heart of the priest, and put into his mouth a tongue of irresistible conviction, and, therefore, of unction and eloquence. After all, it was nothing but the

Scripture of the Old and the New Testament, but it was the Scripture announced, spoken, sung, preached ; the Scripture appealing to the public heart with every art that man was capable of using to make it triumph. There was never a more profound historical error than to imagine that the Middle Ages were ignorant of the Scriptures. Let any one who yet labors under that delusion read the epoch-making book of two non-Catholic writers, Schwarz and Laibach, on the Poor Man's Bible in the Middle Ages.

So there grew up the concept of solidarity, of a Christian people bound together by ties holier and deeper than race, or tongue, or nationality, or human culture could create,—a sense of mutual responsibility, a public conscience and a public will. *What is known as public opinion* is in reality a mediæval product, for then first the world saw all mankind, of Europe at least, possessed of common views and conscious of their moral value and necessity.

In so far as public opinion is an educational force, it is the result of those frequent appeals that the clergy of the Middle Ages made to a higher law and a higher order of ideas than human ingenuity or force could command—it is the result of a thousand conflicts like those about royal marriages and divorces that at once rise to a supernatural level ; of as many dead-locks like that between Henry IV of Germany and Gregory VII, where the independence, the very existence of the spiritual power was at stake. The only weapons of the Church were moral ones, popular faith in her office and her rights, universal popular respect for her tangible and visible services, popular affection for her as the mystical Bride of Christ, a popular conviction that she alone then stood between armed rapacity and the incipient liberties of the people.

XII.

There is a very subtle and remarkable educational influence of the Catholic Church that is not often appreciated at its full value—I mean her share in the preservation and formation of the *great modern vernaculars*, such as English, German, Irish, the Slavonic tongues. Even languages, like French, Italian, and Spanish, the Romance tongues, formed from the

everyday or rustic Latin of the soldiers and the traders of Rome, her peasants and slaves, owe a great deal to the affection and solicitude of the Church. In all these tongues there was always a certain amount of instruction provided for the people. The missionaries had to learn them, to explain the great truths in them, and to deal day by day with the fierce German, the turbulent Slav, the high-spirited Kelt. It has always been the policy of the Catholic Church to respect the natural and traditional in every people so far as they have not gotten utterly corrupted. From Caedmon down, the earliest monuments of Anglo-Saxon literature are nearly all ecclesiastical, and all of it has been saved by ecclesiastics. The earliest extensive written monument of the German tongues is the famous Heliand or paraphrase of the gospel, all imbued with the high war-like spirit of the ancient Teutons. All that we have of the old Gothic tongue, the basis of German philology, has come down to us through the translation of the Bible by the good Bishop Ulfilas out of the Vulgate into Gothic, or from the solicitude of St. Columbanus and his Irish companions to convert the Arian Goths of Lombardy. These languages were once rude and coarse; they got a high content, the thought of Greece and Rome, through the Catholic churchmen. They took on higher and newer grammatical forms in the same way. Spiritual ideas entered them, and a whole world of images and linguistic helps came from a knowledge of the Scriptures that were daily expounded in them. Through the Old Testament the history of the world entered these tongues as explained by Catholic priests. Their pagan coarseness and vulgarity were toned down or utterly destroyed. St. Patrick and his bishops and poets, we are told, examined the Brehon Law of the Irish and blessed it, except what was against the gospel or the natural law. Then he bade the poet Dubtach put a thread of verse about it, that is, cast it into metrical form. The first Irish missionaries in Germany, like St. Gall and St. Kilian, spoke to the people both in Latin and in German, and it is believed that the first German dictionary was their work, for the needs of preaching and intercourse. Some shadow of the majesty of Rome thus fell upon the modern tongues from the beginning, some infusion of the subtleness and delicacy

of the Greek mind fell to their lot. The mental toil and victory and glory of a thousand years were thus saved, at least in part. The Catholic Church was the bridge over which these great and desirable goods came down in a long night of confusion and disorder. The great epics of France and Germany, the *Chansons de Geste*, were saved in the monasteries or with the connivance of monks to whom the wandering singers were very dear in spite of their satire and free tongues. The *Chanson de Roland*, the *Lied of the Nibelungs*, the *Lied of Gndrun*, the great *Sagas* and *Edda* of the Northland owe their preservation and no little of their content, color and form, to the interest of monks and churchmen in the saving of old stories, old fables and old genealogies ; especially after the first period of national conversion had gone by. We have yet in Irish a lovely tale—the *Colloquy of Ossian with St. Patrick*, in which the average sympathy of the Catholic priest for the relics of the past and his just sense of their spirit and meaning, are brought ont very vividly and picturesquely.

It is in the Romance languages that the noble institution of Chivalry, that Léon Gauthier has so perfectly described, found its best expression ; that the roots of all modern poetry that will live are now known to lie ; that the introspective and meditative phases of the literary spirit first showed themselves on a large scale ; that the intensely personal note of Christianity comes ont quite free and natural, unattended by that distracting perfection of form that the classic Latin and Greek could not help offering ; that pnely personal virtnes like courage, honor, loyalty in man—fidelity, tenderness, gentleness, moral beanty in woman, are brought out as the highest natural goods of life, in contradiction to the Greek and Roman who looked on the great political virtnes and the commonwealth, the state itself, as the only fit ideals of hnmanity. Thereby, to say the least, they excluded the weaker sex from its dne share in all life and from public recognition of those excellencies by which alone it could hope to shine and excel. One day the labor of ages blossomed in a perfect and centennial flower, the *Divina Commedia* of Dante, that has ten thousand roots in the daily life, the common doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church, and remains forever, an nnap-

proachable document of the mediæval genius indeed, but also the immortal proof of how thoroughly the Catholic Church had educated the popular mind and heart in all that was good, true and worthy of imitation, in antiquity as well as in the history that then as now men were making from day to day. He was conscious himself that heaven and earth had built up the poem in his great heart. Perhaps he was also conscious that God was making of him another Homer, another Vergil, out of whose glorious lines all future ages should, even despite themselves, drink a divine ichor,—the spirit of Jesus Christ as exemplified in Catholicism.

XIII.

Under the aegis of this extraordinary power of the Church, there grew up a *common mental culture*, based on religion and penetrated with its spirit. There was one language of scholarship and refinement—the Latin—that often rose to a height not unworthy of its original splendor. Something common and universal marked all the arts, and the workman of Italy or Germany might exercise his craft with ease and profit in England or Spain. Within the Catholic fold, the freedom of association was unlimited, not only for religious purposes, but for all economic and artistic ones as well. Human energy essayed every channel of endeavor, and in some, notably in architecture, has never soared so high in the centuries that followed.

One result of this solidarity of thought and purpose was the creation of what we call the *Western mind and spirit*, a complex ideal view of life that differs from the past views of Greek and Roman, as it is in many respects opposed to the life-philosophy of the Eastern world. Human liberty and equality, hopefulness in progress, a spirit of advance, of self-reliance—an optimism, in other words—are among its connoting marks. All this is older and deeper than anything of the last three or four centuries. It was in the Catholic Italian Columbus, venturing out upon the unknown ocean, and his Portuguese predecessors, in the Conquistadori, in the endless attempts to penetrate China and the East from Marco Polo and the Franciscan missionaries down, in the Crusaders,

in the long and successful resistance of Hungary, Poland and Austria to the advance of Islam. Here, indeed, the Western world owes a debt of gratitude to those who arrested the teachings and the spirit of the camel-driver of Mecca. No one saw better than the bishops of Rome that the world might not stand still ; that the eternal antithesis of the East and West was on again ; that the fierce impact of Islam breaking against the walls of Constantinople was nothing in comparison to its bog-like encroachments at every point of contact with Europe. It is a pathetic tale—their tears, implorings, and objurgations. Something they accomplished. But if the Oriental problem is still quivering with life ; if Western civilization, that is in all essentials Catholic civilization, has to go again at the mighty task—but this time from the setting sun instead of from Jerusalem and St. Jean d'Acre—it is because one day, shortly after the fall of Constantinople in 1452, the powers of Europe left the bishop of Rome at Ancona, calling them in vain to go out with the little pontifical fleet, and retake from the unspeakable Turk the City of Constantinople. Pius II., not the kings of Europe, was the real statesman, as every succeeding decade shows. However, the popes estopped the fatalism and dry rot of Islam from the possession of the Danube ; they loaned indirectly to the Grand Dukes of Muscovy the strength out of which they one day carved the office of Czar ; their influence was felt in all the Balkan peninsula ; their city was the one spot where an intelligent and disinterested observation of events by the Golden Horn went on. Better, after all, a thousand times, a Europe torn by domestic religious dissension, than a Europe, perhaps an America, caught in the deadly anaconda-folds of Islam that never yet failed to smother all mental and civil progress, and has thereby declared itself the most immoral of all religious forces known to history !

XIV.

Other phases there are of Catholicism as a plastic formative power in the life of the peoples of Europe, as the creator of their distinctive institutions ; they may come up for brief notice at another time. Thus, the institution of chivalry, with its

mystic idealization of woman ; the ever-increasing authority and influence of woman herself ; the honor of saintly character, essentially, like woman, unwarlike ; the function of the pilgrim, the monk, the papal envoy, as disseminators of general views and principles ; the publication of great papal documents, with their lengthy arguments ; the multitude of friars drawing their office and authority from a central source and upholding its prestige at every village cross ; the history of the Church as related from ten thousand pulpits ; the genuine influence of the great festivals, general and local ; the public penances ; the frequent striking renunciation of high office and worldly comforts ; the frequent reformation of manners ; the increasing use of objects of piety, of the fine arts, as a spur or a lever for devotion,—all these and other agencies were everywhere and at once at work, and helped to give the mediæval life that intense charm of motion, color and variety that every student of history must always find in it.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Origenes Werke (The Works of Origen). Vol. I-II, edited by Dr. Paul Koetschan; Vol. III, edited by Dr. Eric Klostermann; Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1899-1901. Pp. xc + 374; 545; 1 + 351.

1. To the new edition of the "Greek Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries," now being published by the splendid initiative of the Berlin Royal Academy of Sciences, (cf. BULLETIN, Jan. 1900, pp. 63-76) Dr. Koetschau, of Jena, contributes a critical edition of three famous works of Origen—the Exhortation to Martyrdom, the Eight Books against Celsus, and the tractate on Prayer. The text of the "Exhortation" offers now a notable improvement on all the older editions (Wettstein, princeps, 1674; Delarue, 1733; Lommatzsch, 1831). Indeed, the work is now printed complete for the first time. This recension is based on the text of the "Codex Venetus Marcianus 45," of the fourteenth century, and on the "Parisinus 616," both of which seem with certainty to be the apographs of a much older recension, which, in the opinion of Dr. Koetschau, is identical with that made in the fourth century by Eusebius of Caesarea, the fondest of all Origen's admirers. Both these texts have for them the approval of Cardinal Bessarion—notably the Venetian. Some touching words about Origen are copied (p. xviii) from the marginal notes of Bessarion to the Codex Venetus. Of the seven little contemporary works on Martyrdom that have come down from Christian antiquity that of Origen is easily the noblest. Written in the year 235, it is the principal contemporary source of our knowledge of the persecution of that year under Maximinus Thrax, with its order to abjure the worship of Christ, and adore the statues and the fortune (Tyché) of the savage Thracian. All the Christian philosophy of life and experience of men and society are therein "sub specie aeternitatis." Written at Caesarea in Palestine as a homily, it certainly was meant for a wider public than the immediate vicinity of the two sorely-tried ecclesiastics to whom it was addressed. It soon found the widest circulation, and never ceased to find readers and transcribers even in the most troubled period of the Greek Middle Ages. Its numerous biblical citations, though usually from memory, make it a very important work of reference in these days of profound criticism of the transmission and transformation of the biblical text. All Origen is in this little tractate—the editor is correct in saying that "in no other writing of Origen does his inner life come before us as in these pages."

2. In the Eight Books against Celsus the theologians of Christendom have always recognized the most thorough and scholarly of all the ancient apologies for the Christian faith. Dr. Koetschau presents in these volumes a scientifically-assured text of this noble document, as far as the manuscript material permits. It is, in general, the text of the thirteenth century Codex Vaticanus 386, corrected and glossed by two other hands, one of which, the latest, is that of Cardinal Bessarion. Since it is to this manuscript that go back all the earlier editions (Hoeschel, princeps, 1605; Spencer, 1658; Delarue, 1733; Oberthür, Lommatzsch, Migne) they have preserved a substantially correct text. The recension by Koetschau offers a text carefully collated, not only with this Vatican Codex and others closely related to it, but also with the best manuscripts of the "Philocalia," a kind of "Spirit," or "Excerpts" of Origen's works made in the fourth century by his admirers, Saint Basil the Great and Saint Gregory of Nazianzen. The "Philocalia," indeed, offers the only external control possible of the original text of Origen against Celsus, though there is every reason to believe that the text which is found in Vaticanus 386, and which was copied into it from an older manuscript written between 862 and 866, is really identical with two very early recensions, one of the seventh and another of the sixth century. We are thus brought up very close to the time of Eusebius, the fourth century editor of Origen, and of the learned and pious compilers of the Philocalia. Few patristic texts of the same age are so well vouched for.

Much modern and accurate information concerning this great work of Origen, the result of many researches, is found in the Introduction of Dr. Koetschau. After Karl Neumann, he concludes that the work was written in A. D. 248, on the eve of the Decian persecution, in an interval of peace, but at a time when the celebration of the Tenth Centenary of Rome had aroused the pagan consciousness of the Empire, and compelled a bitter and hateful comparison with the religion of the Christians. Of particular use to the student are pages li-lvi, in which is found a kind of (restored) Table of Contents of the "True Word" of Celsus. Keim's reconstruction of that famous book (1873) will soon have a rival in the forthcoming attempt of Karl Neumann to put together the work of Celsus. Valuable, too, are the pages devoted by Koetschau to the profane and biblical learning of Origen, his philosophical and theological views. Few writers have roused more love and hatred than Origen—it is instructive to behold him in the hands of an objective scholar. Dr. Koetschau might have added (p. lxxiv) to the list of translations of Origen against Celsus (Latin, French and German) the English translation of Dr. Crombie in the "Ante-Nicene Fathers";

also the German translation of Röhm in the "Kempten Bibliothek der Kirchengväter," 1874-77.

3. The epistolary tractate of Origen "On Prayer" is here printed, for the first time, in a complete text. Dr. Koetschan has collated carefully and scientifically the famous Codex Holmiensis, preserved since 1670 at Trinity College, Cambridge, and from which all previous editions, however imperfect, were made (ed. princeps, Oxford, 1686, reprint, Basle, 1694; ed. Delarue, Paris, 1733; Reading, London, 1728; Lommatzsch, Berlin, 1844). The curious vicissitudes of this manuscript, saved by a mere chance from the ruins of the Library of Worms during the Thirty Years' War, illustrate the manner in which many patristic writings have perished on the threshold of modern times. No writing of Origen is more replete with beautiful thoughts, as none exacted more earnest and protracted study. Dr. Koetschan locates, with seeming accuracy, its composition in the years A. D. 233-234 at Caesarea in Palestine. In spite of clear subordinationism (c. xv), its moving theology of prayer and its deeply pious commentary on the Lord's Prayer were at once seized on as a sublime specimen of Christian literature. In the heat of the Arian controversy and the persecution of Origen by Justinian the Great, this golden booklet was apparently pushed into the background, not so effectively, however, that excellent transcriptions were not made, one of which has reached us, though not without "lacunae" in the Cambridge manuscript. Perhaps, too, the archaic Christian severity of discipline that Origen enforces in his work, as in the tractate "On Martyrdom," caused it to be confined to an ever-decreasing class of readers. Koetschan calls attention, after Doellinger, to the words of ch. 28, 10, as a direct criticism of the new mildness of Pope Saint Callixtus (c. 217-222) in dealing with grievous sinners, and would extend the same to Saint Urban (222-230) and Saint Pontian (230-235) the immediate successors of Callixtus, under whom the Hippolytan schism retained its grievances and its strength. This is possible, yet the visit of Origen to Rome in the pontificate of Saint Zephyrinus (c. 198-201) to see "the most ancient Church of Rome" (Eus. H. E. vi, 14, 10) is worth recalling, for Zephyrinus is depicted in the *Philosophumena* as being quite under the influence of Callixtus. The condemnation of Origen at Rome, that, Saint Jerome says (Ep. xxxii, 4), followed on the encyclical letter of Demetrius, must have taken place after A. D. 231, while Origen was at Caesarea, in the latter half of the reign of Pontian, therefore almost at the time he was writing the tractate "On Prayer."

4. The third volume of the new edition of Origen's writings is taken up by the remnants of his homilies on the Prophecy of Jeremiah, his Commentaries on the Lamentations of that prophet, and his Exposition

of the Books of Kings. We have here, in all, twenty-two homilies on Jeremiah—the most direct tradition, the most accurate echo that we shall ever hear of the spoken word of the great Alexandrine. According to Cassiodorus, there were extant near the middle of the sixth century about forty-five of these homilies, though he knew, in Latin translation, only fourteen. These were surely the fourteen translated by Saint Jerome at Constantinople about A. D. 380. Dr. Klostermann prints the Greek text of twenty homilies, with fragments of two others taken from the “*Philocalia*.” His chief authority for the text—indeed, the only independent channel by which these homilies have reached us—is a manuscript of the Escorial, written in the eleventh or twelfth century (or in both), and from which the “*editio princeps*” of 1623 was printed; also the edition of Corderius in 1648 (who erroneously attributed the homilies to Saint Cyril of Alexandria); and the later editions of Delarue, Lommatzsch and Migne. Dr. Klostermann has not only collated most carefully the photographed reproduction of this manuscript with all the printed editions of the same, but has also gone to great pains to obtain a correct text of the Latin translation by Saint Jerome. The Roman manuscripts of the “*Catenae Patrum*” (*BULLETIN*, July, 1899, pp. 360–70) were also thoroughly examined for the same purpose. The result is a definitive text of this important fragment of Origen’s preaching. The same labor, method and principles have been applied to the fragments of Origen’s Commentaries on the Lamentations and the fragments of his Exposition of the Book of Kings, notably the history of the Witch of Endor (Kings I, 18), that Eustathius of Antioch attacked and ridiculed with such vehemence.

This edition of Origen is provided with admirable indexes that permit the student to find at once all the passages of the Old and New Testament referred to or cited in this writer’s works, as they successively appear. Similarly, very full indexes are given of all proper names, of all notable words and subjects of all authors cited by Origen, profane and ecclesiastical. Infinite care and elegant scholarship are written over every page. German learning has the right to be proud of such work, that suffers, of course, much philological criticism in detail, but that itself furnishes, for the first time, a solid scientific basis for such criticism. As the student now turns, when they are at hand, to no other edition of the Latin Fathers than the “*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*” of Vienna, so he must look in the future to the editions of the Berlin Kirchenväter-Commission for the best procurable text of all the Greek Christian writers before Constantine.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Der Dialog Des Adamantius, *περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν πίστεως*, (Kirchenväter Commission), von Dr. W. H. van de Sande Bakhuysen. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901; 8vo, pp. lvii + 276.

Das Buch Henoch (Kirchenväter Commission), von Dr. Joh. Fleming und Dr. L. Radermacher. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1901; 8vo, pp. 169.

1. The Dialogue "On the Right Faith in God," that goes under the name of Adamantius, is one of the most important sources for the doctrinal history of Gnosticism, especially during the latter half of the third century. It owes its preservation, perhaps, to the fact that Rufinus translated it into Latin, in illustration of the orthodoxy of Origen's teachings. He evidently believed that this discussion between the Christian Adamantius and five Gnostic interlocutors, before the "Hellene philosopher" Eutropius, was a genuine product of Origen's pen, a position that has long since been abandoned. Nevertheless, its date of composition cannot be far away from the death of Origen,—it was written while the persecution was yet raging, and before the death of Methodius of Tyre (c. A. D. 311), from whose writings it borrows, and to whom it has been attributed. Its doctrine on the Resurrection is genuinely Christian, while that of Origen (cf. *adv.*, *Celsus* V. 23) is not. It is contemporary with the rise of Manichaeism, and by its form and content recalls the contemporary (?) "Acts of Archelaus."

The manuscript tradition of this "Dialogue of Adamantius" is very faulty, partly through the errors of transcribers whose copies, however, all go back to one, that was itself a poor copy, and had one whole signature misplaced. Dr. Bakhuysen has been able to bring no new manuscript, but his edition is distinguished by many emendations, owing to his own critical skill, and to a judicious comparison with the text of Methodius (ed. Bonwetsch, 1891) and that of Rufinus (ed. Caspari, 1883). As against Zahn in his "History of the Canon of the New Testament," Dr. Bakhuysen believes that the text of Adamantius was only moderately retouched, and in a few places, between the years A. D. 330 and 337. Had Rufinus been strictly faithful to his task as a translator, the Greek text of "Adamantius" could, even now, be very well restored with his aid, for he had before him a copy far better than that on which rest all the actual manuscripts.

2. The "Book of Henoch" is one of the most interesting and useful monuments of that apocalyptic Jewish literature which was so abundant in the last century of Hebrew independence and the first century of Christianity. Written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic, it was soon translated, like most of this literature, into Greek. Not only has the

original been lost, but even the Greek translation has disappeared, with the exception of about one-fifth,—the first thirty-two chapters and some fragments, to which must now be added the (Gizeh) fragments discovered at Akkmim in Upper Egypt in 1886–1887, some citations in Georgins Syncellus, a Vatican Greek fragment, and a Latin fragment (cf. Flemming and Radermacher, pp. 13–14). Its fate would have been sadder than that of such similar quasi-contemporary productions as the Book of Jubilees, the Fourth Book of Esdras, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, had not the Ethiopic church looked upon it as a part of the Old Testament. It was, therefore translated into that vernacular—doubtless from the Greek text current in Egypt in the fifth century. And as the Ethiopic translations of the biblical writings are in general very faithful and their text conscientiously transmitted, it may be believed that we have the Book of Henoch as it was current, say in the time of Saint Athanasius. The actual manuscript authority, unhappily, begins a thousand years later; hence all that the editors of the work have proposed to themselves is to restore “such a fairly readable text as was current in Abyssinia in the fifteenth century.” For this labor they have had at their disposition twenty-six manuscripts, some Greek, mostly Ethiopic, the latter beginning with the three that James Bruce brought home in 1773. Fourteen of these manuscripts form the scientific basis of the present edition, that gives all the Greek fragments now at hand, and a German rendering of the (whole) Ethiopic translation. The Latin translation of de Sacy (1801); the English translation of Laurence (1821); the German of Dillman (1853) and Beer (1900); the English of Schodde (1882) and Charles (1893); the modern Hebrew of Goldsmith (1882), made on the German of Dillmann, have long since brought the curious content of the original to the knowledge of all interested in the last political struggles of the Jewish theocracy.

Though Dillmann's edition of the Ethiopic (1851), the first really critical presentation of that text, has not yet been overtaken, the increase of the manuscripts from five (seven) in Dillmann's time to twenty-six justifies the attempt to bring out the edition before us. In this the authors have had two predecessors, in particular for the Greek fragments,—Charles (1893) and Swete (1899). The purpose of the present editors is to restore the original text of the Greek translation, without neglecting the Ethiopic text and without accepting it blindly, since the original of the latter was plainly not made on a perfect copy of the Greek, and, moreover, has itself suffered at least philological modification. It is worth noting that the text of the new (Gizeh) fragments seems nearer to the Greek original than that handed down by the citations in Syncellus.

The influence of the Book of Henoch in the earliest Judæo Christian circles could not have been small. The history and the text of the actual "Sibylline Oracles" show how such documents worked on minds exalted and enthusiastic. Its entire or partial Christian origin has been maintained—portions of it have a Christian air. Its angelology, natural science, cosmography and eschatology are extremely interesting. So, too, is the intensely patriotic standpoint of the author, or authors, or perhaps those who, from time to time, interpolated and retouched it, with the purpose of bringing up to date, through additions and improvements, the original document. The ecstatic visions of Henoch in his journeys to the celestial world, and his prophetic dreams here below, must have made this book a fascinating revelation for those Jews who were troubled and scandalized by the presence of the heathen in their land and holy city. That, with similar apocalyptic pieces, it fed the Chiliaistic tendencies of many of the first disciples of Christianity, cannot be doubted. The long conflict of the ecclesiastical authority with Judaizing tendencies in the first three centuries is placed in a new and instructive light by the knowledge that this Judaizing literature was always a leaven among the primitive Christians, attached by so many ties, natural and spiritual, to the religion of Jerusalem. How long and how profoundly it worked may be gathered from the instructive catalogue of Hellenistic Jewish writings that found a more or less permanent welcome and adoption among the early Christians (cf. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis auf Eusebius I*, 23, pp. 845-865).

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Titus von Bostra, Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien, von Dr. Joseph Sickenberger. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. 8vo, pp. vii + 267.

Die Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius aus dem Syrischen übersetzt von Eberhard Nestle. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. 8vo., pp. x + 296.

Ein Martyrologium der Christlichen Gemeinde zu Rom am Anfang des V. Jahrhunderts, Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der römischen Märtyrer, von August Urbain. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. 8vo., pp. iv + 266.

Diodor von Tarsus: Vier Pseudojustinische Schriften als Eigentum Diodors nachgewiesen von Adolph Harnack. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. 8vo., pp. 251.

1. With much scholarly labor, critical acumen, and excellent method Dr. Sickenberger reconstructs what is practically an "editio princeps" of the extant fragments of the "Homilies" of Titus of Bostra on the Gospel of Saint Luke. This ancient bishop who flourished in the days of Julian the Apostate, is noted in the history of the time for his dignified answer to charges of sedition and disloyalty made against him by

that emperor; also for four books against the Manichaeans that Saint Jerome (*De vir., iul. c. 102*) thought excellent—"fortes adversum Manichaeos scripsit libros." Dr. Sickenberger has collected from the printed editions of the "*Catena* Patrum," and from many manuscript sources a great number of remnants of "Homilies" on St. Luke, that in all probability are the work of this bishop of Bostra. A compiler of such materials in the eleventh century got together as many as 3300 of them. Unless a Milan palimpsest, discovered by Mercati in 1898, contains some fragments of the original discourses, we have no other tradition of them than such as has come down to us through the collection of excerpts that mediæval Greek theologians were wont to make of older patristic commentaries, notes, and expositions of a scriptural character. Most of the lengthy introduction of Dr. Sickenberger (pp. 1-145) is taken up with the study of several such collections or "*Catena*" as they are usually called. In them he finds genuine remnants of the "Homilies" of this father, though not without a lengthy critical sifting and comparison of such scattered and disordered materials. These pages, that the author rightly calls a "*schwierige Arbeit*," are no mean contribution to the growing literature on the "*Catena*" themselves, and are an evidence of the genuine scholarly training to be had in the theological faculty of the University of Munich. Dr. Sickenberger has added to our knowledge of Titus of Bostra, by increasing his scientific usefulness, and by emphasizing the fact that these "Homilies" on Saint Luke, written after the work against the Manichaeans, have a decided anti-Manichaean air and trend, such as one might expect from a bishop of the Syrian borderland at this period. The sober, literal, objective character of his discourses shows him to be an Antiochene in his principles of scriptural interpretation. The material at hand is too disconnected to gather from it any conclusions concerning the canon and the authority of the scriptures in farther Syria toward the end of the fourth century, or to establish which recension of the gospels was used by Titus. His "Homilies" on Saint Luke were much used by later commentators on the Gospels, though his own compositions were, seemingly, quite original and independent. He is an Aristotelian, and opposes cold and severe logic to the fantastic allegorizing of the Manichaeans. Taken in connection with Lagarde's edition (Berlin, 1859) of the complete text (in Syriac translation) of the four books against the Manichaeans, the treatise of Dr. Sickenberger and his edition of the homily-fragments on Luke give us the best assured texts of a writer concerning whom Saint Jerome says elsewhere (ep. 70) that one knew not which to admire most in him, "*eruditionem saeculi an scientiam scripturarum*." Is it not rather bold to advance the death of Titus of Bostra to a possible 378, when the

"sub Juliano et Joviano principibus" of Saint Jerome seems to indicate that his literary activity did not extend beyond 364, the date of Jovian's death? The phrase "moritur sub Valente" would, in this light, seem to indicate the death of Titus in the early part of the reign of Valens, i. e., between 365 and 370.

2. The oldest Greek manuscript of the Church History of Eusebius belongs, it is said, to the tenth century. In the Syriac version, first edited by Bedjan (1897) and then by Wright and McLean (1898), we have a very faithful rendering of the Greek original. Some think that the Syriac version was prepared by the order, or under the eye, of Eusebius himself. It was certainly in common use before the end of the fourth century. The manuscript tradition of this text is far older than that of the Greek original—the best of the three oldest Syriac manuscripts, that of Saint Petersburg, belongs to the year A. D. 462, and an Armenian translation of the same represents a Syriac text still a century older than that of Saint Petersburg. As the Kirchenväter-Commission proposes to publish a new edition of the Church History, it seemed desirable that a strictly literal translation into German of the Syriac version should be first prepared, as one of the necessary "subsidia" for that important enterprise. This has been done for the "Texte und Untersuchungen" by the distinguished Syriac scholar, Dr. Eberhard Nestle, of whose competency there can be no doubt. In the preface to his work he brings out, from more than one view-point, the possible utilities of the Syriac translation whose complete edition has been awaited from 1864, when Wright first made known a chapter of it in "Ancient Syriac Documents," down to 1897 and 1898, when, simultaneously, Bedjan at Paris, and Wright-MacLean at London, gave to the world this very ancient specimen of learning and piety.

3. As a "Vorarbeit" for those Greek "Acta Martyrum" that the Kirchenväter-Commission proposes to publish, Dr. August Urbain has chosen to reconstruct the calendar of the Roman Church in the beginning of the fifth century. Naturally, the "Hieronymian Martyrology," the "Chronographer of 354"; the calendars of other Christian communities, especially that of Carthage; liturgical texts like the "Liber Comitis" and the Sacramentaries, are the first sources that offer themselves in the absence or loss of the original calendar. If we add to these the study of the Christian burial-places, and that of the more or less legendary "Acta," "Passiones," "Vitae," "Gesta" of early Roman martyrs which abound since the end of the fifth century, and have been magisterially treated by Dufourcq, ("Les Gesta Martyrum Romains," 1901), we shall have exhausted all the sources of information and the "subsidia" that are now at our disposal. The work of Dr. Urbain reads like a mass

of historical notes for this most difficult of historical tasks. A well digested and orderly plan is scarcely visible. The sources are enumerated, but the description of them is both brief and insufficient. The literature of the subject is scattered all over the work; it would have enhanced the latter's usefulness had all these titles been gathered under suitable rubrics and presented as a whole. The work contains two very useful contributions to the study of the earlier Roman Martyrdoms; an inventory (pp. 27-77) of the known manuscripts and printed sources for the history of the Roman saints (martyrs) in the first four centuries, and an alphabetical catalogue (pp. 218-266) of all the names of Roman saints (martyrs) that are mentioned in any of the written or monumental sources. Urbain gives us (pp. 211-216) the essential elements (*den wesentlichen Theil*) of the calendar of the Roman Church as he thinks it was extant in the days, let us say, of Leo the Great. This restoration rests on a detailed examination (pp. 102-210) of all the historical data available for the saints of each day. For the bishops of Rome the "Philocalian Catalogue" and the earliest editions of the "Liber Pontificalis" are almost the sole available authorities. For all others, the oldest manuscripts of the "Hieronymianum" form the basis of a critical control of the statements found in the "Passiones" and "Gesta," and in the later martyrologies from Bede down. The ancient liturgical books of the Roman Church and the "Itineraria" of Northern pilgrims to Rome, from the seventh to the ninth centuries, are an indispensable help for the fixation of names and dates. In all such questions the modern student necessarily follows in the footsteps of DeRossi and Duchesne. The "Roma Sotterranea" and the "Inscriptiones Christianae" of the former, and the "Liber Pontificalis" of the latter are indispensable guides through the wilderness; they appear at almost every page of the brochure before us.

4. Among the Greek writings wrongly ascribed to St. Justin Martyr, are five that bear respectively the titles: *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, *Quaestiones Christianorum ad Gentiles*, *Quaestiones Gentilium ad Christianos*, *Confutatio dogmatum quorundam Aristotelis*, and *Expositio Rectae Fidei*. It has been long admitted that all of them belong to a much later period in the literary history of Christianity, somewhere between A. D. 350 and 500. The first three, indeed, suppose the triumph of the Christian religion and betray phases of Christian history that are unintelligible apart from the known conditions a little before and after A. D. 400. The most important of them is the *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*. It contains 161 questions and answers of an apologetic character, that deal principally with the Christian theodicy as against that of the Hellenes, and aim at

proving the consistency and superiority of the former, not only by "prophetical" or biblical arguments, but by the dialectic of the Hellenes themselves.

The work has been attributed sometimes to Theodoret, sometimes to Theodore of Mopsuestia. In 1731 La Croze adjudicated it to Diodorus of Tarsus, and Johann Adam Möhler was not far from this position when he located its composition in the Syrian church between the overthrow of Arianism and the rise of Nestorianism. In this number of the "Texte und Untersuchungen," Professor Harnack studies all four of these documents as a whole; they were apparently current as a kind of "Corpus Justinii" in the time of Photius, and even earlier. He concludes that they are surely from the pen of Diodorus, written by him at Antioch between the years A. D. 370 and 376 or 377. While the *Quaestiones Christianorum* and the *Quaestiones Gentilium* are probably directed against Themistius, the contemporary and neighbor of Diodorus, the *Quaestiones ad Orthodoxos* are the reply of Diodorus to the difficulties and doubts of his own disciples and fellow Christians that arose from many sources. They are an academic dialogue, whereas the former are a real discussion between himself and (very probably) Themistius. One might wonder that the author of such works could be forgotten. Very probably it was because Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia were, on the very threshold of the Nestorian heresy, accused of being its true parents. Their rationalizing antimystical interpretation of the Scriptures, ever more inimical to the allegorism of Origen and the Alexandrines, was held to be the evil seed of the first great Christological heresy. Saint Cyril of Alexandria devoted all his energies to this thesis, and soon the works of Diodorus were destroyed or removed; as a matter of fact, besides the titles of many works, only some fragments of his scriptural commentaries have come down in the "Catenae." Indeed, his literary fate has been a strange one, for Ebed-Jesu narrates that his Semarian enemies burned sixty of his writings. It would seem that, even after the advent of Nestorianism, some of them, as being very valuable and useful, continued to be copied, but under orthodox names; hence their attribution to Theodoret, and at a later date and in a less critical age, to Justin Martyr, whose orthodoxy was as certain as that of Theodoret was doubtful. Harnack is of the opinion that the *Expositio Rectae Fidei*, handed down in the same very ancient collection of pseudo-Justin writings, is from the hand of Diodorus. Thereby are given back to their real author several documents of far-reaching importance for the history of Christian doctrine. Diodorus was a teacher of renown, a famous presbyter of Antioch and bishop of the neighboring Tarsus (378 to about 396), the master of

Theodore of Mopsuestia and Saint John Chrysostom, the undaunted literary opponent of Julian the Apostate and the leader of oppressed Catholicism during the dominant Semiarianism of Valen's reign; a contemporary of the last struggles, literary and political, of Hellenism from Julian to Eugene. If these works, that Professor Harnack prints in a German translation, be really the writings of Diodorus,—and the proof is almost irresistible,—we gain a new and first-class source of information as to ecclesiastical affairs in the Orient about the year A. D. 370. The temper and method of the scriptural school of Antioch; the mutual apologies and objections of a yet flourishing paganism and a yet snffering Christianity; the vicissitudes of Plato and Aristotle among the converted Hellenes; the fate of the scriptural method and peculiar teachings of Origen; the remote beginnings of scholasticism; the first visible workings of the teaching that blossomed in the fatal heresy of the Antiochene Nestorius; many traits of fourth-century life, habits and worship, are illustrated by these pages—a fact always known, bnt that is raised greatly in power by the assumption that it is the pale and emaciated Diodorns who talks to us, his tall frame bowed by labor and fasting, his cheeks wasted and wrinkled; the “magician of the Nazarene”; the “*acutus sophista religionis agrestis*,” snffering from cancer of the throat, yet leading ever “*usque ad novissimum vitæ suæ finem asperam et amaram vitam*.” It is Julian the Apostate who thus describes him in a letter preserved by an apologist of Diodorus in the evil days of the sixth century when, as Photins says, he was condemned (553) during the stormy sessions of the Fifth General Council as a “Nestorian before Nestorius.” Saint Jerome, in his opposition to Meletius of Antioch, belittles (*De vir. inl.*, c. 119) the profane knowledge of Diodorus, but his contemporary and possible fellow-student, Julian, says that he was educated at Athens: “*iste enim malo communis utilitatis Athenas novigans et philosophans imprudenter musicorum participatus est rationem, et rhetoricis confectionibus odibilem adarmavit linguam adversus coelestes deos*,” etc. Curiously enough, there is in the *Quaestiones ad Orthodoxos* (c. 118, tr. Harnack, p. 131) an inspiring paragraph on the use of singing, bnt not of instruments, in the churches of Syria. And every student of Church history knows the part Diodorus and Meletius played, about A. D. 350, in the creation or perhaps development of antiphonal singing at Antioch. Any new work on the decline of paganism will need to pay attention to these writings of Diodorns, now that they seem securely dated. The man against whom Julian, with epic bombast, invoked the gods and goddesses, the muses and Fortyna herself; whom he described as “*omnem imbibens, ut aiunt, degenerum et imperitorum ejus theologorum piscatorum errorem*,” must have had considerable inflnence on the anti-

pagan legislation of a Gratian and a Theodosius, as well as on the temper of an Ambrose and a Chrysostom. Professor Harnack has used, for his translation, not only the Codex Parisinus 450, written in 1364, but in conjunction with it the tenth century codex 273 of the "Holy Sepulchre" monastery at Constantinople, from which Papadopoulos Kerameus published in 1895 a new text of the Quaestiones ad Orthodoxos. The introduction and conclusion of Harnack are not unworthy of the learning and skill of so profound a student of the teachings and manners of Christian antiquity; with all due deference, they contain assumptions and assertions to which exception, we are sure, may be taken with success. Every student of Patrology will await with interest the definitive edition of the writings of Diodorus that is here promised us.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ, DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN, with critical and explanatory notes, an historical sketch and essays, by William Watson Goodwin, Hon. I.L. D., and D. C. L. Eliot, Professor of Greek literature in Harvard University. Cambridge: The University Press, 1901. ix + 368.

This new edition of the masterpiece of ancient eloquence contains the hypotheses, (pp. 3-6); the text of the Oration, with critical and exegetical notes, (pp. 7-227; an Historical Sketch of the events from the accession of Philip of Macedon to the battle of Chaeronea (229-299); to which are appended a Table of Dates, a description of the Attic Year, with a possible arrangement of the months in 347-346 B. C. (pp. 300-307), and a series of essays:—1. The Argument of the Oration, with Remarks on §§ 120, 121 (pp. 308-316); 2. The *γραφὴ παραινόμενων* (pp. 316-327); 3. The Suit against Ctesiphon (pp. 327-332); 4. The trials of Aeschines and Philocrates for misconduct in making the Peace of 346 B. C. (pp. 332-337); 5. The Constitution of the Amphictyonic Council (pp. 338-339); 6. The Hero Physician and the Hero *καλαμνίτης* (pp. 339-342); 7. The Manuscripts of the Oration on the Crown (pp. 343-350); 8. Stichometry in the Manuscript of Demosthenes (pp. 350-355); Indices (pp. 357-368).

Any detailed criticism of this excellent and elaborate edition is, of course, impossible in the space at my disposal, and I can mention only a few of the most salient points. The text is conservative, the editor endeavoring to follow "the authority of the Codex Ξ, especially when it is supported by its companion L¹," rather than to attempt, as Blass has done in the Teubner edition, to improve this text, partly on the basis of the various readings found in quotations and partly on the basis of certain rhythmical principles. It is, therefore, to be regretted, since the editor's

views on this latter far-reaching question seem—to judge from a collation of the first fifty sections—to be at variance with those of Blass, that he has not subjected the matter to a thorough discussion instead of waiving the whole question with a reference to the *Attische Beredsamkeit*. The critical apparatus brings gleanings from the photographic reproduction of Σ , but would have been greatly increased in value if the editor had added to it the *testimonia* of the authors who have quoted Demosthenes, and at least the most important variants that can be derived from this source. The exegetical commentary is full and valuable, but in it, as well as in the Historical Sketch and its accompanying essays (which take the place of an introduction to the Oration), one feels that the editor's interest is in the matter and disposition rather than in the $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ of the speech. So that, in my opinion, the treatment of the archaeological, legal and historical questions connected with the Oration—the careful collection and sifting of the material and its especially attractive presentation—will prove to be the most valuable part of the work.

The editor's position on the questions at issue between Demosthenes and Aeschines is foreshadowed by his statement (p. ix) that the time for neutrality “on the question of the patriotism and statesmanship of Demosthenes in his policy of uncompromising resistance to Philip” is past. In some instances, however, this principle seems to me to have led to injustice to Aeschines. An example in point is found in the remarks on the argument of §§120, 121—Demosthenes' reply to the second specification of the indictment—with regard to which I should prefer Fox's interpretation (cf. *die Kranzrede des Demosthenes*, p. 118 ff.) Nor does it seem fair to me to look upon the bulk of Aeschines' speech as “taken up with a most absurd attempt to connect his general account of the public life and character of Demosthenes with his legal argument” on the ground that “he charges the references to Demosthenes in Ctesiphon's decree . . . with violating the law *forbidding the falsification of the public records!*” Aeschines' words are (III, 50): $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \sigma\iota\ \nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\iota\ \mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\ \psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta\ \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota\nu\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\circ\iota\varsigma\ \psi\eta\phi\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\iota$, and certainly do not refer to a *single* law which “clearly related to malicious and fraudulent falsification of the public records in the Metronm by adding, erasing or changing.” What Aeschines does is to assume the illegality of embodying a falsehood in a public decree as contrary to the fundamental principles of the law without being able to cite a special law forbidding it; hence the indefinite $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \sigma\iota\ \nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\iota$. This indefiniteness may be reprehensible from our point of view of a legal argument,—we may hold that even if Ctesiphon's decree was false it *was* not for that reason illegal,—but an Athenian court would hardly have

taken the same view. Aeschines is not guilty of the absurdity charged, and his argument is, as Weidner points out, similar to that of Demosthenes in his oration against Aristocrates.

Finally, attention may be called to the second essay, which will be of interest to a wider circle of readers on account of the comparison of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* with our own doctrine of constitutional law. I cannot agree, however, with the editor as to the degeneration manifest in the conduct of this process, when the speech of Aeschines is contrasted with the earlier ones of Demosthenes. As a legal argument the speech of Aeschines seems to me far superior to that against Aristocrates, in which the greater part of the speech is devoted to the attempt to show that finding the *προβούλευμα* of Aristocrates illegal will prove politically advantageous to Athens, and that Charidemus did not deserve the favors he had already received.

The press-work of the book is most excellent, and misprints are extremely rare, but the printer's devil is not to be exorcised entirely, and so in the footnote, No. 3., p. 245, Atrestidas is credited with *Olympian* captives.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

An Introduction to the Study of Chemistry, by Ira Remsen, Professor of Chemistry in Johns Hopkins University. Sixth edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1901. pp. xxii + 460.

A text-book that has seen extensive service for fifteen years, during which time it has undergone several revisions, due solely to the progress of the science and which effected no material change in the original plan and method of the book, bears excellent testimony to the judgment of the author and his success as a teacher.

The progress of chemistry in America owes much to Professor Remsen. His influence, whether exerted directly through the students who had the good fortune to work under his personal supervision, or indirectly, by means of his many text-books, has always worked for the inculcation of a true scientific spirit.

The author's long experience as a teacher, analyzed by his own methods of observation, enabled him to recognize and master the difficulties encountered by the beginner in chemistry. Theoretical considerations are gradually introduced during the detailed study of a few of the more common elements, while the accompanying laboratory exercises familiarize the student with the best working methods. There are but few quantitative experiments, because, as the author justly says, the time available for the laboratory work of an elementary course does not permit their proper performance. The frequent use of suggestive questions throughout the text forms a valuable feature of the book. On the

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whole, Remsen's "Introduction to the Study of Chemistry" is a model text-book, and its use will be a great aid for the development in the student of that spirit of observation and those habits of deduction which are the foundations of progress in all branches of knowledge.

JOHN J. GRIFFIN.

A College Text-Book of Chemistry, by Ira Remsen, President of Johns Hopkins University. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1901. pp. xx + 689.

This, Dr. Remsen's most recent work, is intended to fill a place between the author's "Introduction to the Study of Chemistry" and his extensive "Inorganic Chemistry"; the latter being largely used in its preparation. The matter of the book is presented in essentially the same order followed by the author in his other works in the American Science Series. Theoretical considerations are gone into more deeply, and the discussion of the periodic law and its consequences reached at an earlier stage than in the "Introduction," but otherwise the treatment of the subject is identically that of the latter, with the fullness due to the greater maturity of the students for whom the book was designed.

It will be difficult to find a clearer and more concise statement of the laws and concepts deduced from the recent activity in general chemistry than that given in the chapter on chemical action. In the compass of twenty-four pages Professor Remsen has assembled the safe and definite conclusions that may be arrived at from a painstaking consideration of the great amount of work that has thus far been accomplished in the now extensive field of so-called physical chemistry; in other words, by the utilization of physical methods in chemical research. Mass action, dissociation, ions, osmotic pressure and the mutual relations of these, are discussed in exceptionally clear language. The author, however, does not consider the time yet ripe for a rearrangement of the science on the basis of these new ideas: an attitude of conservatism on the part of an eminent authority very encouraging to those instructors who fancied, in the light of new developments, that their ideas of the science were about to vanish into the regions of fable.

It is to be hoped that this excellent text-book will rapidly work its way into extensive use in our colleges. Its scientific treatment is unsurpassed. Its serious study cannot fail to instill scientific habits of thought, and though the student may not obtain therefrom so large an array of isolated facts as from more pretentious works, he will acquire something more valuable in the power of recognizing, explaining and co-relating them.

The mechanical execution of the book exhibits all the good qualities of the other volumes of the American Science Series.

JOHN J. GRIFFIN.

The Limits of Evolution and Other Essays. G. H. Harrison.
New York; The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. xxviii + 306.

In this volume Professor Harrison has gathered lectures and papers on various subjects, to illustrate, as the title-page declares, "The Metaphysical Theory of Personal Idealism." Although this theory is not systematically developed, its chief points are summarized in the preface. "Instead of any Monism, these essays put forward a Pluralism; they advocate an eternal or metaphysical world of *many* minds, all alike possessing personal initiative, real self-direction, instead of an all-predetermining single Mind that alone has real free agency." God is the impersonated ideal of every mind. Creation means the eternal fact that God is a complete moral agent, that his essence is just a perfect conscience. In the system of causation the efficient cause, hitherto supreme, yields its place to the final cause as the constitutive principle of real existence.

The philosophic range of evolution finds its limits in its impotency to cross the break between the phenomenal and noumenal, between the inorganic and the organic, between the physiological and logical genesis, between the unknowable and the explanatory. These breaks can be spanned only by idealizing thought. "Man the spirit, man the real mind is not the offspring of Nature, but rather Nature is in a great sense the offspring of this true Human Nature." Our personality is the source of time, space and cause; our being transcends all the vicissitudes of the merely natural world. And as death is but one item in the being of the natural world, it follows that our personality must survive. In other words, our *a priori* knowledge supplies the proof of our immortality. Similarly with the problem of determinism and freedom. A condition of our making freedom possible in a world ordered by the rigor of natural law is that we accept an idealistic philosophy of Nature; the laws of nature must issue from the free actor himself, and upon a world consisting of states in his own consciousness, a world in so far of his own making." Nor does the fact of the Divine supremacy conflict with man's freedom, if only we correct our view of Divine causation by substituting the final for the efficient cause. Then, freedom "means first our self-direction by this eternal Ideal and toward it, and then our power, from this eternal choice, to bring our temporal life into conformity with it, step by step, more and more."

E. A. PAGE.

Introduction à la Psychologie des Mystiques. Jules Pachon,
S. J. Paris: Oudin, 1901. Pp. 140.

Forty of these pages are devoted to notes, summaries of conferences by the same author, and press notices of another work published by him.

The rest can scarcely be called an "introduction" in the scientific sense of the term. Beyond some definitions and some general statements concerning method, there is nothing to serve as a preparation for the study of so intricate a problem as that of Mysticism. The history of the problem is not outlined, nor is any attempt made to point out the literature of the subject. Still, these pages are charmingly written, and are likely to revive interest in this part of psychology. At any rate one looks forward with pleasant expectations to the execution of the program, which includes the application of modern psycho-physiological methods to the investigation of the mystical life. After all that has been said about the materialism of the "new psychology" and its inability to deal with the higher sorts of mental activity, it is a relief to be told that "a better knowledge of the psycho-sensible life enables us the better to judge of the various movements of the soul" (p. 75).

E. A. PACE.

L'Organisation du Suffrage universel en Belgique, par Léon Duprez. Paris, 1091; pp. 270.

The treatise on the organization of suffrage in Belgium, which Professor Duprez has just published, is a remarkably able piece of work, at once conscious, complete and clear. While the chief aim of the study is to instruct us concerning conditions in Belgium, still the problem investigated is one which concerns all nations, viz., the organization of suffrage in such a manner that all qualified voters may enjoy the privilege of the elective franchise, while the more capable enjoy, at the same time, such an extension of it as shall protect the country against a mere numerical majority of irresponsible voters. The work is admirably done, and shows a fine historical sense and a thorough knowledge of the process of development through which the institution of suffrage has gone in Belgium. A brief summary will be of interest.

Belgium was forced to amend its constitution in 1893 in a manner which would be acceptable to two strong tendencies in the country; the conservatives were slow to make any innovation while the radical elements favored the "one man, one vote" principle with twenty-one as the age of majority. The compromise adopted allowed suffrage to citizens at the age of twenty-five in so far as extending the franchise materially, but in the adaption of the plural vote, quality was set over against quantity and thus the conservatives were placated. The conditions and quality of vote were fixed as follows. Election lists are revised annually. Domicile of one year at least is required before one is permitted to register, or to vote at all. A supplementary vote is allowed to the head of a family thirty-five years of age, who pays a "house tax" of at least one

dollar per year; another is allowed to those who own at least four hundred dollars worth of real estate or its equivalent in government securities; a third is allowed to those who hold a college diploma, and a fourth is accorded to persons holding positions which imply an equivalent education. However, no one citizen is permitted to accumulate more than three votes. In this manner the more competent minority is made practically as strong as the less competent majority.

Another novel feature of the Belgian law is the compulsory vote. Citizens not legally excused are required to vote, under penalty of a light fine and loss of the right of suffrage. This contrivance prevents indifference to political issues. Since its introduction, less than three per cent. of the voters fail to appear whereas before 1893 the number was as high as twenty to thirty per cent.

Another modification was introduced in 1899—that of proportional representation. Under the system of majority rule, the liberals failed of representation unless they voted with socialists or conservatives. Under the law, they were, however, compelled to vote. The dilemma was evaded by the introduction of proportional representation. Through it, any important party is enabled to have representatives in Parliament. The plan has worked so well in national elections that it is to be adopted at local elections in the near future. The results of the two reforms reflect much credit on the Catholic conservative majority of the nation. Actual representation of each important party, protection of the voter by secrecy, the recognition of quality as well as quantity in voting and participation by practically all voters. These results are a proof of the wisdom with which the changes were made.

The work of Professor Duprez forces upon the reader the conviction that the organization of suffrage thus worked out in Belgium is a near approach to the ideal in a country where the two party system is a thing of the past.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

La Mutualité en Belgique par Albert Soenens. Bruxelles, 1901.

The development of mutual benefit societies among workingmen is one of the most interesting phenomena which the student of social questions meets. Whether such societies remain purely voluntary and private, as is the case in the United States, or take on the form of obligatory insurance, as is the case in Germany, they still remain interesting and their importance is actual since they are intended to meet a situation that is part of the average laborer's career.

Industrial development has brought the great class of laborers into a condition that is more or less precarious. There is among them a maximum of risk and a minimum of protection against it. Revenue is

meagre and uncertain; hence, the opportunity to accumulate property is limited. In view of that basic fact, the ordinary events of life are converted into risks which can scarcely be avoided by the worker or his family. Death, illness, inability, accident, loss of parents, old age, enforced idleness, may at any time bring acute misery which is not adequately provided for in our system of public and private charity. Add to these events, over which one has no control, the moral and intellectual limitations of the laborer, his extravagances, intemperance, improvidence and it is seen at once, that the ordinary course of social development provides but poorly for him. It is said that there are three periods in a man's life—formation, labor and repose; that in his second period, he should provide for his third and for the first in his children.

This has been found impossible by the individual laborer. The aim of all cooperative effort in mutual benefit societies among laborers is to reduce the ordinary risks of life and to protect themselves in their old age. Such societies form an integral portion of our social life to-day, whether in the form of compulsory insurance, as in Germany, or in matters of private concern as is more generally the case.

The movement has attained to immense proportions in Belgium. In the work of Judge Soenens, which is the occasion of these remarks, an attempt is made to present an exhaustive treatise on the movement there. The author desires to make an accurate review of the whole situation, collect documents, analyze actual legislation, and to offer a complete and methodical commentary on laws concerning mutual benefit societies now in force.

One rarely meets a volume which can be read with more delight. Complete mastery of the subject is shown on every page. Accurate knowledge of sources, consecutiveness of exposition combined with direct lucid statement, lend to the work a decided charm and make it extremely valuable to the student. Though the legal tone dominates throughout, yet the work is by no means too technical for the average student of this interesting question. It is a real contribution to the fast growing literature on the subject and it will long remain one of the best. From its pages, we learn the following items which are of interest:

The national and local governments of Belgium encourage directly, all efforts made to form mutual benefit societies which aim to protect the poor against the ordinary risks of life. The department of labor exercises supervision over them, while a permanent commission composed of fifteen members exists for the purpose of assisting the societies in an advisory capacity. Among the members of the commission are two Senators and two Representatives, elected by the respective bodies; nine members are selected by the government, of which five must themselves

be members of such societies. Documents are exempt from the stamp tax and extensive frank privileges are accorded by the post office. In some cases, the government assists in defraying the expenses of founding a society. Specific decorations are conferred on such citizens as have distinguished themselves in the upbuilding of these associations.

Laborers, artists, soldiers, even professional men, may form societies. Women and children may also; even school children are permitted to form them. Last January there were 500,000 active members in Belgium, while over a million women and children shared the benefits directly or indirectly.

The work contains an excellent bibliography, while currently throughout the exposition, authorities are cited on every point of any importance. M. D. Perpète is associated with Judge Soenens in the publication of the work. It can be heartily recommended as a scholarly presentation of a living issue.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes. Charles Henderson, Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago. Second edition, enlarged. Boston: Heath and Co., 1901. Pp. 397.

This new edition of Professor Henderson's work is a very useful compendium. It aims at presenting to the reader a survey of a wide field of action and a still wider field of thought. The phenomenon of dependency in society is outlined, and the chief classes of poor, helpless and afflicted are carefully described; the causes of their conditions are briefly stated; the methods of relief are indicated. The author has seen fit to include the study of criminals, prison régime and punishment. Here, likewise, we find objective description of methods, agents and institutions. The work is written in full sympathy with approved methods in charity work and with due recognition of their moral and religious factors, on which effective work ultimately depends.

The limitations of the book are those of the subject itself. An attempt has been made to cover a vast field. The problems are complex and varied, their causes are subtle, and many methods employed are still experimental. In an effort to reduce all to logical unity, assumptions will be made, classifications, which may be challenged, will be suggested, and views may be expressed to which exception can be taken. Some readers will undoubtedly base criticism on these or similar grounds. Withal the book has permanent value. It isolates the problem of dependency as one that is vast, complex and pressing. This gives it an educational value for the thousands who are totally ignorant of this field of social activity. In addition, it is extremely useful to workers in the

field of charity as a compendium of useful information. The appendix contains much statistical data and a good bibliography.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

Plotin's Stellung zum Gnosticismus und Kirchlichen Christentum, von Carl Schmidt; **Fragment Einer Schrift des Märtyrerbischofs Petrus Von Alexandrien**, von Carl Schmidt; **Zur Handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Clemens Alexandrinus**, von Otto Stählin. Leipzig; Hinrichs, 1901. 8vo., pp. 90, 50, 8, (6 Marks).

The teacher of Porphyry can never be an indifferent personality to Christians. The "fifteen books" that the latter philosopher wrote against them about A. D. 270, were long an arsenal for all the enemies of the new religion; even after its triumph the pagans made such good use of this libellous work that learned Christians like Eusebins felt themselves compelled to write refutations of it, as shortly before Origen was obliged to refute the "True Word" of Celsus. Plotinus (203-270), himself like Origen, a disciple of Ammonius Saccas, that reputedly apostate Christian, became after the latter's death the leader of the Neoplatonist sect that looked always to Ammonius as its true founder. From A. D. 244 Plotinus spent most of his time at Rome, where he was honored by all, especially by Gallienus and his wife Salonina. Like his master Ammonius, he worked mostly through oral teaching and personal contact—his ideas and views are therefore to be sought in the writings of his disciples as well as in the books he wrote toward the end of his life. Dr. Schmidt discusses in his brochure the attitude that Plotinus must have taken towards Christianity during the momentous epoch of its career, that coincided with his sojourn at Rome. The great philosopher (cf. Confessions of St. Augustine, VII, 9) overlooked in his pride, apparently, the growing propaganda of the Christians—but only apparently. He left behind him a (lost) tractate "Against the Gnostics." Moreover it is related in his "Life" by Porphyry that he was so much concerned about certain "Apocalypses" of the Roman Gnostics that he had two of them refuted, and critically, by his disciples Ammelius and Porphyry. The Gnostics of Rome frequented his school. At the same time he was conscious of the distinction between the orthodox Christians and the Gnostic heretics, a fact of which Celsus was ignorant. Plotinus was a genuine Hellene of the Alexandrine type, it is true, yet as ardent an admirer of the ancient world with its views of God, man, life, and society as Decius himself. He felt that there was an irreconcilable antithesis between the great religious systems that in his day divided the allegiance of the Roman empire—Heathenism, Christianity and Gnosti-

cism. Indeed, the swift propaganda soon made by this "Spirit of the Orient" in the form of Manichaeism, and the instinctive opposition that the Roman authority at once set on foot against the latter, justified the apprehensions of Plotinus. In his mind there is only one remedy, a return to the *palatia philosophia*, the world and life philosophy of the ancients, but with special insistence on the ethical, on personal sanctity, moral elevation, and closer communion with the powers of a world beyond this. Dr. Schmidt treats these facts of the life of Plotinus with much sympathy for the famous Neoplatonist, and yet with full consciousness that only the Christian teaching could permanently invigorate a society that was morally decayed and enfeebled, whose nameless multitudes had lost all enthusiasm for goodness just as they had grown indifferent to the scandals and mischiefs of their day. It was not a Platonopolis, the ideal city that Plotinus proposed to build on the ruins of Pompeii, but a "City of God" that was being built on earth, though no sound of hammer or saw disturbed the daily uses of life. To Plotinus, Ammелиus, Longinus, Porphyry and the numerous scholars who crowded about them, all this Christian life and propaganda was "perversitas," "pervicacia," "obstinatio," "barbara stultitia," "superstitio nova et malefica," "deceptio." So, too, thought the statesmen of the day, Decius, Valerian, Macrinus, with all the solemn savants and philosophers who sat in their councils and often dictated the policies that they afterwards defended with voice and pen. But the new religion was even then as has been eloquently written, "bringing into society a new morality which was serious and powerful, and a morality which would wear and last; one which could stand the shocks of human passion, the desolating spectacle of successful wickedness, the insidious waste of unconscious degeneracy,—one which could go back to its sacred springs and repair its fire and its strength. Such a morality, as Roman greatness was passing away, took possession of the ground." Plotinus was surely one of the most pure and pleasing of the ancient philosophers. "Osque illud Platonis," says Saint Augustine, "quod in philosophia purgatissimum est et lucidissimum, dimotis nubibus erroris, emicuit maxime in Plotino, qui Platonici philosophus ita ejus similis judicatus est ut . . . in hoc ille revixisse putandus sit" (De Civ. Dei. VIII, 12). He was an "intellectual" of the first rank, and a "liberal" in his practical attitude towards Christianity, if he be responsible for the toleration of Gallienus. Nevertheless, to this Gallio of the philosophers it must have been the same "undemonstrable doctrine" that it was to his admirer and contemporary, the critic Longinus, or even to those last lingering representatives of Graeco-Roman ethnicism, Symmachus and Libanius. The world of thought was henceforth no longer large enough for the votaries of

Zeus and the disciples of Jesus. Who would have thought in the days of Plotinus that the sun of Saxa Rubra would go down upon victorious Christianity?

In the second brief treatise Dr. Schmidt discusses with much learning a Coptic fragment of a writing that he thinks belongs to Bishop Peter of Alexandria, "the last of the Martyrs." Its date is placed by S. at about the year A. D. 311. If date and authorship be as claimed, the document, though mutilated, is of considerable value for the inner life of the Egyptian Christian communities on the eve of the cessation of the persecutions. This number of the "*Texte und Untersuchungen*" closes with a few notes of Dr. Stählin on the Greek manuscripts used for the "*editio princeps*" of Clement of Alexandria and on three others. Paris MSS. of this father mentioned by Harnack.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Un Grand Rhetoriqueur Poitevin: Jean Bouchet (1476-1557?)
par Auguste Hamon. Paris: Oudin, 1901. 8vo, pp. x + 340.

Though every student of French literature knows, in a general way, that the clearness and precision, the good sense and good taste, which are its fine traits from Ronsard to Bossuet, did not characterize its first beginnings, not many take the pains to read those pre-Renaissance authors, through whose productions the French genius experimented on its genuine calling and spirit. M. Hamon sketches for us one such writer, Jean Bouchet. In most manuals of French literature he gets barely a mention, yet it is truly a fascinating book that has grown out of the story of his life and writings. Bouchet was a "grand rhetoriqueur," that is, a writer in whose pages the literary symbolism of the later Middle Ages and a strong moralizing tendency found expression in language that verged constantly on the bombastic, and avoided nothing so much as simple elegance and natural limpidity. His ambition was to be a "rimeur parfait," though his allegorico-moral poems have long since been utterly forgotten. Legal agent and friend of a powerful French family, Bouchet breathes in all his works the chivalrous spirit of fifteenth century France,—devotion to his masters, fondness for his religion, and a high concept of the duties and life of its clergy; antipathy to the principles of Calvinism; a romantic view of his country's history and vocation. He lived to be more than eighty, and his life is typical of French literary and social existence from Louis XI. to the advent of Henry of Navarre. His principal title to remembrance will always be the "*Annales d'Aquitaine*"—devoid enough of all criticism, yet honest, earnestly personal—the work of much research among old "pancartes" and local traditions. Bouchet, though a staunch Latinist, as a historian

and a man of the law, is yet an ardent admirer of the uses and the great beauty of the

"doux parler qu'on nomme francisque."

He belongs, also, to the history of the theatre, by his share in the "mystery plays" of the time, to which literature, the fine arts, and social life owe so much; for through them, as through one channel at least, the mediæval peoples emerged into the modern world. Incorrigible rhymers and enphuists of the first rank, Bouchet held all his life the friendship of the many men of letters who came in contact with him. Rabelais loved him, and his "Hotel de la Rose" at Poitiers was a place of pilgrimage for all the Flemish and Burgundian scribblers and poets who swore by "Dame Rhétorique." There is not an uninteresting or uninteresting page in the bulky volume of M. Hamon, for all its apparent dryness and "specialization." He has drawn for us a pleasing portrait of a genial old "Poitevin" of the early sixteenth century,—lover of books and of good Christian plays; of the gentle society of antiquaries and studious clerics; cautions of offending the great and powerful; concerned for the establishment of his sons and daughters; by all the qualities of mind and heart a man of the middle ages, though intoxicated by the new wine of Italian literature and the new glories that were dawning upon his beloved France.

"Je te salue, o terre plantureuse,

Heureuse en peuple, et en princes heureuse."

A lengthy study of the versification, grammar and syntax of Bouchet concludes this work, and makes it valuable to the advanced student of the history of French literature. Bouchet himself would doubtless prefer to the modern inscription on his house in Poitiers the praise of Charles Fontaine (Hamon, p. 157) to the effect that this writer "pour son temps a esté loué, et est encore comme chaste et chrestien scripteur, non lascif et paganisant, comme ceux du iour d'hui, et si a faict es pour-suiuy grandz et continuels oeuvres, non pas de petites sonneries."

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

La Controverse de L'Apostolicité de L'Église de France au

XIX. Siècle, par A. Houtin. Second edition. Paris: Fontemoing, 1901. 8°, pp. 136.

A somewhat saddening but necessary conspectus of a domestic controversy that has been waged in the French church for fifty years; are any, and if so, how many, of its dioceses, of apostolic origin? If none, or very few, when were they established? Numerous mediæval documents have been urged in favor of many dioceses, and many writers have

devoted much time and energy to proving that these documents and the local traditions, liturgical and otherwise, bear out the thesis of the apostolic foundation of many churches of Gaul. On the other hand, an increasing number of Catholic writers, holding fast to the best scientific principles and method, and strong in the support of the ablest church historians of France previous to the middle of the nineteenth century, maintain that an organized Christianity was introduced into Gaul not earlier than the latter half of the third century. The struggle that once raged around a classic text of Gregory of Tours has lately drifted away to the episcopal catalogues of the French dioceses. Ancient piety, traditions that are old and venerable if not original, liturgical usages of long standing, a theological concept of liturgical books that conflicts with the duty and rights of historical criticism, are among the motives of the conservative, or so-called "legendary" school. The historical school, otherwise severely misnamed by the former, insists on the methodical application of the principles of the science of history, without concern for the results—the first law of religion as well as history being to ascertain the truth. Its representatives, and they are among the shining lights of French ecclesiastical science, insist that, apart the valley of the Rhône, the ancient churches of France were founded between 250 and 350. The literary history of the conflict is related with much "verve" by M. Hontin, who belongs to the "historical" school, and whose summing up, in general, cannot be gainsaid. For the present, at least, there is a cessation of such heated controversy as was carried on in the days of Dom Guéranger and Dom Piolin. The monumental work of Mgr. Duchesne "*Les Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*," and his "*Mémoire*" on the establishment of Christianity in Gaul, are one scientific result of the long controversy. Perhaps in no surer way could the correct historical spirit and method be made a common possession than by this lingering and extensive controversy. It seems almost time to close it and gather the intellectual forces of the church of France for the solution of other and more pressing problems. Intellectually, that church has in the past been the most powerful of Catholic forces. Could it stand again where it did in the days of Baluze and Valois and Mabillon, what a benefit would result for every ecclesiastical science!

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Der Heilige Alfons von Liguori, der Kirchenlehrer und Apologet des XVII Jahrhunderts, (Preisschrift) von Dr. Franz Meffert. Mainz, Kirchheim, 1901 8° pp. 280. (Forschungen zur Chr. Litt. und Dogmengeschichte. Vol. II, No. 3).

Dr. Franz Meffert adds one more to the numerous lives of Saint Alphonsus Liguori. His work is divided into two parts, the writings of the Saint on Moral Theology and the writings of an apologetic, dogmatic, or ascetic character. The history of probabilism is related from the view-point of the person of Saint Alphonsus (pp. 19-102). Among other things Meffert insists on the popular character of many of the Liguorian works, demanded by the disturbed conditions of his time and country, on the need of reading many of them in the light of Italian and especially Neapolitan manners, and on the necessity of a critical selection among the popular and minor works of the holy founder of the Redemptorists: "Wenn es sich schon nicht empfiehlt, an allem, was der hl. Thomas von Aquin geschrieben, starr festzuhalten—er selbst würde bei dem heutigen Stande der Wissenschaft gewiss manches anders schreiben, als er geschrieben—so erscheint es noch viel weniger gerechtfertigt, alles und jedes zu verteidigen, was der hl. Alfons in seine Schriften aufgenommen hat, auch wenn es schlechthin unhaltbar geworden. Die Erfahrung lehrt doch zur Genüge, dass es nicht genügt, über solche Punkte stillschweigend hinwegzugehen. Die moderne Kritik, die gerade hier einsetzt, um durch Ausnützung derartig schwacher Positionen die Öffentlichkeit in einer Weise irre zu führen, die alles sittlichen Gehaltes bar ist, zwingt uns, die schwachen Positionen im Interesse der wirksamen Verteidigung des Wesentlichen selbst aufzugeben. Ist es denn für uns Katholiken ehrenvoller, das erst dann zu thun, wenn wir durch die gegnerische Kritik dazu gezwungen werden, nachdem diese bereits grossen Schaden angerichtet hat?" In the bibliography (pp. XIII-XV) the literature is almost exclusively confined to our Catholic authors; in a scientific publication we have reason to expect a broader view-point.

Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531), the Reformer of German Switzerland, translated for the first time from the Originals, edited with general and special introductions and occasional notes, by Samuel Macauley Jackson, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania. 8vo., pp. 259.

In this volume Dr. Jackson presents "a selection from the contents of the eight volumes in which the works of Huldreich Zwingli, the

Reformer of German-Switzerland, are preserved in the only edition now accessible" (Zurich, 1828-1842). The most important of these selections are the "Acts of the first Zurich Disputation, January, 1523, and the Refutation of the Tricks of the Catabaptists, 1527." The former, written by a schoolmaster of Zurich, is enriched with substantial notes taken from the account of John Faber, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Constance, a witness and participator, and from a gross personal attack upon Faber, published by supporters of Zwingli. The latter document is in every way instructive, and throws no little light on the consistency, if not on the moral honesty, of men like Zwingli, to whom the ancient teaching and discipline of Christendom were a slighter barrier than the opposition of the city fathers of Zurich, in matters essential to salvation.

Joan of Arc, by L. Petit de Julleville, translated by Hester Davenport. New York, 1901; Benziger. 12vo., pp. 191.

This little work is a study of the personality of the Maid of Orleans. It makes no attempt to describe the events in the history of France in which she was so prominent a figure. The author aims at laying bare the soul of Joan and he bases his arguments principally on her own actions and her own words drawn from reliable sources; he is in the main eminently successful. The paragraphs on Joan's personal appearance are extremely interesting. The author's thesis may have been borrowed from the words of her attendant Jean d'Aulon, who at the rehabilitation trial said that "all Joan's deeds seemed divine and miraculous, and that it was impossible for a young maid to have done such deeds without the will and guidance of our Lord." Several chapters are devoted to the trial and execution in which a moderate, judicial tone, characteristic of the whole book, is strikingly manifested. The injustice and unfairness of the judges who tried Joan, her conviction, the indignities she was subjected to, and her cruel execution, are all pictured with vigor, yet with no touch of rancor.

The Way of Perfection and Conception of Divine Love, translated from the Spanish by the Rev. John Dalton. London; Thomas Baker; 1901. 8vo., pp. xxiv + 329.

The first of these two works ranks next in importance among the writings of Saint Teresa to her "Life" written by the Saint herself. Unintentionally this work has also in it many of the elements of an autobiography. Its value to persons who desire to lead lives of high spirituality is so well known and so universally recognized as to need no comment. The practical tone of the book increases its value and effectually disposes of the objections which might arise on the score that mysti-

cism, even such as Saint Teresa's, unfits persons for the real struggles of life. Four chapters from the seven extant on Conceptions of Divine Love form a fitting supplement to the main work. Several useful appendices on the personal appearance of the Saint, her writings, and the like, are added by the translator.

The Life of Mother Mary Russell, Sister of Mercy, by her brother Rev. Matthew Russell, S. J. New York: The Apostleship of Prayer, 1901, 8vo., pp. 187.

This short life of Mother Russell, written at the request of her brother Lord Russell of Killowen and dedicated to his memory is a notable addition to recent Catholic biography. The value of the book is considerably enhanced by the numerous references to other members of the Russell family, a family in more than one respect truly Levitical.

This little work, breathing the refreshing sweetness that exhales from the self-renunciation of the nun and the cloister is a noble tribute to the self-sacrifice and self-immolation of the daughters of Mother Macauley in the service of religion and humanity. It has a very special interest for persons who study the growth and development of Catholicity in the United States, as it affords a picture of the labors of those who were pioneers in the spread of Catholic teaching and the foundation of Catholic charities in the Western Hemisphere. Forty four years of Mother Russell's life, devoted to school and hospital work, were spent in California, where she died in 1898. The work is drawn largely from her letters, and while it affords a good insight into the character and purposes of this noble woman it is, unfortunately, somewhat lacking in detail. Father Russell with his unequalled opportunities and unquestioned sympathy for the task may, perhaps, supply a more comprehensive narrative at some future date.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Opening of the University.—The University opened for the year 1901-1902, on Tuesday, October 1. The next day the Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated by the Rt. Rev. Rector, who delivered an encouraging discourse to all the assembled professors and students.

The Right Reverend* Rector.—It is with great pleasure that the BULLETIN announces the elevation of Mgr. Conaty to the dignity of Bishop. This favor of the Holy See is not only a commendation of the many merits of the Rt. Rev. Rector, but a proof of the constant watchfulness of the Holy See for the interests of the University. May Mgr. Conaty live many years to continue the good work entrusted to his zeal and devotion!

Legacy of Miss Elizabeth P. Blight.—By the will of the late Miss Elizabeth P. Blight, of Philadelphia, the University receives the sum of five thousand dollars. Miss Blight was always an earnest friend of higher education for Catholic young men and women. The University is grateful for this practical evidence of her interest, and will always count her among its enlightened benefactors. May she rest in peace!

The Ruth Charlotte Dana Theological Scholarship.—By the will of the late Miss Ruth Charlotte Dana, of Boston, the University receives the sum of five thousand dollars to found a theological scholarship for the archdiocese of Boston. Miss Dana was among the warmest friends of the University from its beginning. The University is grateful for her pious gift that will long continue to be of utility to the Church in New England. May she rest in peace!

Summer Lectures of Professors.—During the week August 19-25, Rev. Dr. Pace delivered a series of lectures to the Sisters of St. Joseph, who have charge of many schools in the diocese of Springfield, Mass. The subjects were selected from Psychology, and were treated with special reference to the needs of teachers. Rev. Dr. Shahan delivered five public lectures at San Francisco, September 11-28, under the auspices of the Catholic Truth Society. The subjects treated were: "The Catholic Church the Mother of our Modern Civilization," "The Cathedral Builders of Europe," "The Crusaders: How Mediæval Europe Expanded," "Mediæval Ireland: the Teacher and Civilizer of Northern Europe," "The Renaissance, Christian and Pagan."

VERY REV. J. B. HOGAN, S. S.

Shortly after the opening of the academic year, information was received at the University of Father Hogan's death, which occurred in Paris, September 30th. On Saturday, October 12, a Mass of Requiem was offered for the repose of his soul in the Caldwell Hall Chapel.

John Baptist Hogan was born June 24, 1829, in the County Clare, Ireland. He received his classical training, as well as his theological education, in the diocese of Bordeaux. Entering the Society of St. Sulpice, he became a professor at the Seminary in Paris, a position which he held for thirty-two years. When, in 1884, the Boston Seminary was established, he was appointed its president. Five years later he became president of the Divinity College at the University. In 1894 he returned to Boston and remained at the head of the Seminary until failing health obliged him to go abroad. The closing days of his life were spent in the Seminary of St. Sulpice, where he had so long labored and taught.

Father Hogan was a man of keen intelligence and scholarly attainments. Easy and refined in his manner, he was none the less energetic and persistent in what he judged to be the line of duty. His devotion to the work of ecclesiastical education and his long experience with the clergy of France and of America, gave him breadth of view and insight into the intellectual needs of the Church. His "Clerical Studies," published during his stay at the University, showed maturity of judgment and thorough appreciation of modern thought. Among other works which he had planned was one designed for the guidance of seminary students. In this would doubtless have appeared the spirit of prudence and sympathy which made him director, adviser and friend, and for which he will be held in remembrance by many.

LEO XIII. AND THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.

We append below the letter of our Holy Father, Leo XIII., to Cardinal Gibbons, the Chancellor of the University. The letter speaks for itself, and is a new proof of the fatherly solicitude with which the founder of the University follows its development. The letter is dated June 13, 1901.

DILECTO FILIO NOSTRO, JACOBO TIT. S. MARIAE TRANS TIBERIM S. R. E.
PRESB. CARDINALI GIBBONS, ARCHIEPISCOPO BALTIMORENSI. LEO
PP., XIII.

Dilecte Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem :

Studium, quo, vel ab initio Pontificatus, Foederatarum Americae Civitatum Ecclesiam complexi fuimus, illud etiam suasit Nobis, ut Lyceum magnum quamprimum Washingtonii condi urgeremus, conditum vero confirmaremus auctoritate Nostra omnique benevolentia. Quod enim requirebant tempora, id Nobis maxime cordi fuit; ut videlicet iuvenes, qui in cleri spem educarentur, virtutibus quidem primum, tum tamen etiam divinis humanisque disciplinis quam optime imbuerentur. Quae porro de Washingtoniano Lyceo subinde accepimus, non irritam fuisse fiduciam Nostram ostendebant; illud autem laetiora modo capere incrementa tum ob largitatem catholicorum, tum ob decurialium doctorum peritiam et auctoritatem, tuae litterae testantur, quas nuperrime dedisti. Unum restare adhuc videtur, ut nobile Institutum auditorum etiam frequentia floreat; quod sane ex Episcoporum industria atque studio expectandum est. Qui si, missis Washingtonium alumniis, carere forsitan utilitate aliqua, in sua quisque dioecesi, ad tempus videbuntur; at longe majus capient emolumentum, tum sibi tum universae Americanae Ecclesiae, dum clerus una eademque doctrina, uno eodemque spiritu informetur. Haec Nos ex voluntate bona sperantes, qua vos Ecclesiarum vestrarum commoda decusque contenditis; tibi Dilecte Fili Noster, Rectori, doctoribus, alumniis, Washingtonianae Universitatis Apostolicam benedictionem, Nostrae caritatis testem, amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XIII, Junii MCM I, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quarto.

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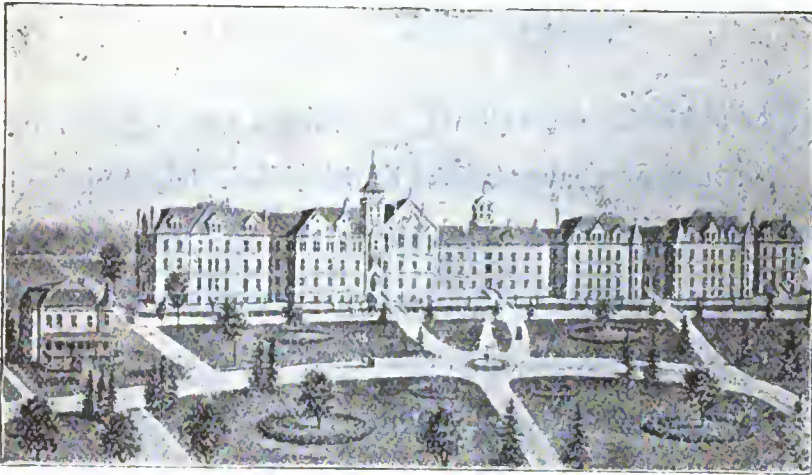
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